

IN THESE TIMES

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40 Cents

For the first time in history the old will soon outnumber the young. Only a radical restructuring of society can solve the enormous problems created by this situation.

IF YOU'RE NOT OVER 65 YOU SOON WILL BE

Photo by Paul Sequeira



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A Special Pullout Section Begins on Page 11.

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THE INSIDE STORY

Pablo Orrego



Michael Moffitt and Isabel Letelier at the funeral.

Guest column by Peter Weiss

Government coverup on Letelier murder

Eleven months ago, former Chilean ambassador Orlando Letelier lay dying a block from the Chilean Embassy on Washington's Sheridan Circle, his legs blown off by assassins who had detonated a plastic charge beneath the driver's seat of his car.

Nearby lay a colleague, Ronni Karpen Moffitt, who a moment before had been sitting at his side and who was now slowly choking to death on her own blood, her carotid artery pierced by shrapnel from the bomb.

The words Orlando Letelier had spoken 11 days earlier upon learning his nationality had been revoked by the military dictators ruling Chile, were borne out: He was born a Chilean, he had said; he had lived and would die a Chilean. Ronni Karpen Moffitt, MADE IN USA, hadn't been one for making speeches, but was dying for the same cause—a free Chile.

The assassins of Letelier and Moffitt, according to U.S. government sources, came from the same fraternity of burglars who were caught five years ago in the Democratic National Committee offices at the Watergate; people whose hatred of the Cuban revolution leads them to see Castro agents everywhere and whose unquestioning obedience to orders is matched only by the ferocity of the tactics they employ in carrying them out.

Disinformation campaigns.

Following the Watergate break-in, certain highly placed officials, with the willing or guileless connivance of the media, mounted a campaign of disinformation—stage one of the cover-up—suggesting that Presidential candi-

date George McGovern was suspected of having secret ties to Fidel Castro and that the burglars had merely been seeking the proof.

Following the assassinations of Ronni Karpen Moffitt and Orlando Letelier, some U.S. columnists and journalists, among them former intelligence agents, initiated a similar plot, removing the focus from the murderers and placing it instead on the alleged contents of the briefcase found in Letelier's car. Through innuendo and distortion they've sought to convince the public that Letelier was a Cuban agent; and to turn the assassination of a distinguished leader of Chile's exile community into just another maudlin—and acceptable—incident in the cold war game of spy and counterspy.

In both the Watergate break-in and the Sheridan Circle murders, this disinformation campaign served two purposes: it diverted attention from the crimes and the criminals' ties to the intelligence network and it afforded a cover for the masterminds of the crimes by suggesting that the Cuban exiles had acted on their own against perceived enemies of their cause.

In both situations, agencies of the U.S. government, and officials within these agencies, have been at odds with each other, some genuinely bent on following the thread of guilt wherever it may lead, other determined to sow confusion and bring in another triumph of "deniability."

In the case of the assassinations, this obstruction of justice amounts to an effort by certain FBI agents and other intelligence officials to shield the killers from other members of their own agencies.

U.S. complicity.

Thus far, the Justice department and FBI have not maintained even minimal security over their own evidence. In a recent issue, the pro-junta Chilean magazine *Que Pasa?* printed names and telephone numbers from the address book allegedly found in Letelier's briefcase—information that could only be obtained from FBI sources.

Former CIA agent Edwin Wilson, cited in the *Washington Post* as a suspect in the case, is only one of those under investigation to have had access to the briefcase material and other evidence.

In the Watergate case, the cover-up stonewall was cracked only with the appointment of a special prosecutor. Yet, in the Letelier/Moffitt case, with evidence pointing to the involvement of U.S. intelligence agencies with the DINA, Chile's secret police, Attorney General Griffin Bell, like his predecessor Edward Levi, has refused Letelier's widow's request to appoint a special prosecutor. Bell says he does not want "another Watergate."

A thorough and independent investigation would necessarily end up on the doorstep of Gen. Augusto Pinochet, and might reveal:

- that U.S. filmmaker Charles Horman was murdered by the Chilean junta because he had accidentally discovered U.S. complicity in the murder of Chile's loyalist chief of staff, Gen. Rene Schneider, and in the carrying out of the coup itself. Horman and another American, Frank Teruggi, were picked up, tortured and executed in Chile's National Stadium immediately following the coup, yet American officials refused to report their deaths to their families long after they learned of them.

- that, according to a staff member of the Church Committee, the CIA gave the Chilean junta 50,000 names of Allende supporters it had computerized during the Allende years. Many of those identified in the CIA list were subsequently murdered, tortured, incarcerated or deported by the junta. This information was withheld

by the Church Committee and has never been made public.

- that known agents of Pinochet's personal gestapo, the DINA, have travelled frequently to the U.S. to meet with Cuban exile terrorists. On one trip, DINA representative Col. Eduardo Sepulveda met in Miami with Bay of Pigs veterans including Brigade 2506 member Ramiro de la Fe, who has spent time in prison for illegal use of explosives. (Pinochet was subsequently awarded the Brigade 2506 "Medal of Freedom.")

- that, although the CIA had infiltrated the DINA and Cuban terrorist groups and knew of the conversations between the DINA and Cuban exile terrorist leader Orlando Bosch about plans to assassinate Letelier and other terrorist acts, no one warned Letelier or tried to stop the hit.

- that some Justice department officials now believe a thorough and independent investigation of the murders would show that Gen. Pinochet himself ordered DINA chief Contreras to have Letelier killed. Pinochet, according to these officials, feared Letelier's continued activities in Washington would result in an increasingly hostile U.S. attitude towards the junta because of Letelier's persuasiveness with certain members of Congress and administration officials and because of his ability to unite the broad political spectrum of exile anti-junta sentiment.

"They will kill me."

After 11 months, the Justice department and FBI investigators have arrested no one and have proven both incompetent and unwilling to solve these murders.

As Sen. Ribicoff pointed out on June 27 in the debate preceding the adoption of the Public Officials Integrity Act of 1977, Presidents Ford and Carter, the American Bar Association, the Watergate Committee and the three Watergate Special Prosecutors—Cox, Jaworski and Ruth—have all come out for the appointment of special prosecutors in cases involving suspicion of crimes by high government officials.

Is the lesson of Watergate—that corrupt and criminal guardians cannot be allowed to guard themselves—to be reserved for strictly domestic situations? "They will kill me," Orlando Letelier told a reporter after his release from a junta concentration camp. "They" have killed him, and Ronni Moffitt as well. With a mounting body of evidence pointing to complicity by certain U.S. officials in either the killing or its cover-up, only a special prosecutor offers any hope of getting at the truth.

Peter Weiss is the chairman of the board of Trustees of the Institute of Policy Studies.

A year's mourning

Sept. 11 is the anniversary of the coup in Chile; Sept. 18 is Chilean independence day; and Sept. 21 is the first anniversary of Letelier's and Ronni Moffitt's murders. Several programs sponsored by the Institute for Policy Studies and Chilean organizations in the U.S. will commemorate these events. On Sept. 11 in New York, Isabel Letelier will speak at New York University's Loeb Student Center. On Sept. 18, there will be a memorial service in Washington for Letelier and Moffitt over which Sergio Mendez Arceo, Archbishop from Cuernavaca, will officiate. On Sept. 19 in Washington, there will be a ceremony marking the end of the year of mourning at which IPS chair Peter Weiss will speak. For further information on these events, contact Paz Cohen, (202) 234-9382.

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Pro-nuclear plan withdrawn

By Dan Marshall
Staff Writer

Energy Secretary James Schlesinger, confronted with vocal opposition from some Carter administration staffers, has withdrawn a controversial plan that would both eliminate the complex hearings for the licensing of nuclear power plants and severely limit public input, **IN THESE TIMES** has learned.

Details of the plan, dubbed the "Nuclear Regulatory Reform Act of 1977," were revealed Aug. 15 in the *Wall Street Journal* and prompted outraged reactions from environmental organizations and from members of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) and the administration's Domestic Council.

"This bill is basically designed to cut out those people who object to nuclear power," a government source told the *Journal*. "In very subtle ways, it strips the Nuclear Regulatory Commission of any real authority. It reduces the commission to a technical board with very limited power."

"This plan betrays every promise that Carter made during the campaign for an open administration and public participation in decision-making," Richard Pollock, director of the Critical Mass Energy Project in Washington, D.C. told **IN THESE TIMES**. "It would transform the regulatory process into a kangaroo court for the nuclear industry and mean that the minimum safeguards we've been able to implement so far would be abandoned."

The legislation, which Schlesinger intended to submit to Congress Sept. 7, is essentially a revised version of a plan he formulated while heading the Atomic Energy Commission during the Nixon administration. While it now has been retracted, observers anticipate that it will likely be reintroduced in another form.

Limiting public participation.

The premise of the plan, says Pollock, is that citizen's groups are the main source of delay in the licensing and construction of nuclear plants. Schlesinger claims that 300 additional plants are needed by the year 2000, but that environmentalists and other nuclear opponents have caused utilities to cancel 20 plants since 1970 and delay construction of 100 others.

Schlesinger's solution is to limit public participation to "informal hearings" rather than the adversary proceedings now followed. Instead of directly examining witnesses, interested parties could only recommend questions to the hearings' presiding officer.

The legislation would enhance Schlesinger's authority over nuclear matters by allowing him to set "target" dates for completing government paperwork "associated with approval of nuclear plant siting, construction and operation."

"It takes power away from the NRC and hands it into the lap of Schlesinger," Pollock charges. Full-scale citizen interven-

Confronted with vocal opposition, Energy Secretary James Schlesinger has withdrawn a controversial plan that would have eliminated the complex hearing process for nuclear plants and sharply limited public input.

Anti-nuclear demonstrators sit down in front of the gate at a nuclear power plant in Oregon.



tions have occurred in only a dozen cases, he points out, while about 70 nuclear plants have been built. Delays are more often caused by basic structural problems, including manufacturing snafos, shoddy workmanship, financial problems, and work stoppages.

To "streamline" the bureaucratic procedures for determining plant locations, the legislation would yield decisions about the need for a particular plant, along with assessing its environmental impact, to states or regional groups of states. (Under existing law, the NRC must consider alternative sites and methods of generating electricity before issuing construction permits.) Although many states are now ill-equipped to perform extensive ecological analyses, the bill provides no additional funds or personnel for this purpose.

These state impact studies, undertaken in accordance with federal guidelines, would then be evaluated by Schlesinger.

The bill would also authorize the NRC to adopt "site-suitability criteria." Instead of issuing separate construction permits, the commission would apply general standards to applications for plant locations. The goal of this procedure is to compile a "bank" of preapproved sites.

The commission is also supposed to encourage the construction of standardized plants, either by approving specific designs in advance or by granting licenses to manufacturers. If an applicant has built a standardized plant on a preapproved site, the opportunity for government review before it begins operating would be "carefully limited."

"I'm not the least bit surprised by this plan," explains Catherine Quigg, president of Pollution and Environmental Problems, a citizen's group based in Palatine, Ill. "In a 1972 interview Schlesinger talked about why we should go nuclear and how the technical problems were inconsequential. He has always emphasized the positive aspects. This scheme is just a follow through."

Observers speculate that the plan reflects Schlesinger's desire to bring nuclear licensing under his purview in the newly created, cabinet-level Energy department.

Approved by Congress Aug. 2 and signed into law by Carter, the department absorbed the powers, programs and employees of the Federal Energy Administration, the Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA), and the Federal Power Commission (FPC). The Nuclear Regulatory Commission, however, remained separate.

Shifting Carter position.

The plan also indicates Carter's shifting position on the use of nuclear power "as a last resort." In his Presidential campaign, Carter never explicitly allied himself with anti-nuclear forces, but suggested that decreased reliance on nuclear technology would be a cornerstone of his national energy policy.

"As one who is intimately familiar with the problems and potential of nuclear energy, I believe we must make every effort to keep that dependence to a minimum," he remarked in an Aug. 31, 1976, speech.

As the administration's energy program

gradually unfolds, however, nuclear energy appears to be playing a greater role than most observers anticipated. "More commercial reactors will be built domestically, international sales of nuclear fuels will be increased, and at least some form of breeder research programs will be continued," says Ken Bosson, coordinator for the Citizen's Energy Project, in a report by the Center for Science in the Public Interest.

In his April 7 nuclear power statement and his later National Energy Plan speech, Carter observed that "increasing amounts of nuclear energy" will be used to fill the "gap between the energy we need and the energy we can produce and import..." Schlesinger has repeatedly mentioned that there will be "a lot of the last resort."

At a White House conference with more than 40 governors convened to discuss the National Energy Plan, Carter also stated: "My administration supports virtually unlimited licensing of commercial nuclear reactors."

But as Carter backpedals on his campaign statements on nuclear power, he is certain to further alienate his environmentally-minded constituents.

"At a time when even industry is finding fault with the economics of nuclear reactors," comments Quigg, "and when the general public is becoming more aware and more incensed about the hazards of nuclear power, President Carter could have found real support for the development of safe, renewable sources of energy and the phasing out of nuclear power."

Life and death in the Old South

By Don Davis

DAWSON, GA.—The night before the Dawson Five trial began here, there was a hot-dog supper for supporters of the five at the home of two of the defendants, a small country house with uncovered wooden floors and no indoor plumbing or running water.

As they drove back to the Ramada Inn where they were staying, some of the expert witnesses imported by the defense mainly from northern universities were in tears. "I didn't think people still lived like that," said one. "I thought it was a New South."

In the days that followed the defense tried to show that much of the Old South survives in Dawson, a town of 5,800, 21 miles south of Plains, Jimmy Carter's hometown.

They were trying to show that it would be completely in character for the local au-

thorities to try to frame up five innocent young black men for the January 1976 killing of a white ranch foreman.

The trial began Aug. 1. Before a jury could be selected, Judge Walter I. Geer had to dispose of a stack of defense motions.

The first asked that the death penalty be ruled out for the defendants, who now range in age from 18 to 23.

Team Defense, an anti-death penalty group representing the Five, had brought to Dawson 16 prominent experts who were prepared to argue that the death penalty is barbaric, ineffective as a deterrent, and imposed mainly against poor people and blacks, especially in a racist community like Dawson.

But the first witness was only partway through his testimony when Michael Stoddard, appointed special assistant district attorney for this case, was on his feet asking

that all the testimony be stricken from the record as irrelevant because the state would not seek the death penalty.

It was a major retreat, and one that greatly enhanced the defendants' chances of winning acquittal. For in a death penalty case the prosecution can bar any juror who opposes the death penalty, which, in this case, would have eliminated the black jurors who are most sophisticated and best able to stand up to whites during a long jury deliberation.

District Attorney John Irwin said his decision was based on the youth of the defendants and the fact that none had ever been arrested before.

Defense lawyer Millard Farmer felt it had more to do with the courtroom packed with reporters from the national news media and with local blacks aroused by months of organizing by defense supporters.

The defense moved on to bond, which had been originally set at \$100,000 apiece. Two defendants had been freed at that price and three hearings had only resulted in bond for the rest being lowered to \$60,000, which the defense could not raise.

But those hearings had not taken place before the national news media and 150 local blacks.

This time the prosecution said it would go along with whatever bond the judge sets, and Sheriff Jerry Dean testified that the three defendants had caused no trouble in 18 months in custody and that he thought they would pose no threat to the community if set free. In minutes the judge had lowered bond for all five to the \$200,000 already put up for two. Once technicalities were cleared up, the three others would be free.

Continued on page 4.

NATIVE AMERICANS

Defending clean air in Montana

By Bill Vaughn

LAME DEER, MONT.—An Indian tribe here has won the latest round in an eight-year battle with the energy industry over how the enormous coal reserves of southeastern Montana will be developed.

On Aug. 5 the Environmental Protection Agency declared that air over the remote 700-square-mile Northern Cheyenne Reservation must remain "pristine." The ruling challenges the plans of Montana Power and a consortium of West Coast utilities to surround the reservation in the next decade with coal-fired generating and gassification plants.

The reservation thus becomes the first area in the nation assigned to Class I, a legal status that imposes stringent controls on air pollution. The 1970 Clean Air Act, which established three classes of air quality, put most of the country in Class II, and permitted states, the bureaucracies managing federal lands, and Indian tribes to weigh industry against environment and seek placement in a higher or lower class.

The Cheyennes claim their farms and forests—and their entire culture—will be destroyed if heavy industry moves into the area.

"We are not opposed to progress," Tribal Council President Allen Rowland says. "But for us progress means developing the tribe's resources like timber and agriculture. If our air is degraded these things will be diminished. They are our livelihood and the core of our values."

Scientists and Montana state officials testified in public hearings before the Cheyenne petition for redesignation was filled in March, that pollution and acid rains from a ring of poorly regulated power plants around Cheyenne land could raise an already high rate of respiratory diseases, ruin the tribe's grazing land and Ponderosa forests, and even jeopardize wild plants like sage, licorice and buffalo

The Northern Cheyenne Reservation, in winning Class I status, becomes the first area in the nation with the highest standards for clean air. At stake is the entire way of life of the Northern Cheyenne.

berries that the Cheyennes still use for religious ceremonies, medicine and food.

Tribal members claim they're afraid unchecked construction and boom towns will attract a flood of newcomers—mostly white—that could increase racial conflicts, crime, mental illness and alcoholism among Indians. And new people, they said, will put pressure on housing and services that are barely adequate to meet the needs of the reservation's 3,000 residents.

Tribal elder Charles White Deer said the Cheyennes don't want to become a minority on their own land. The reservation, he said, "is our identity, our last retreat."

John L. Peterson, chief counsel for the Montana Power Company, called the Cheyenne petition a "ploy" intended to block the construction of two controversial 700-megawatt generating plants at Colstrip, a company town 15 miles north of the reservation. The plants, which are opposed by a coalition of Indians, ranchers and environmental groups, were approved by the state last year. Two smaller plants at Colstrip have been in operation since 1974 and are not affected by the EPA's ruling.

Peterson also disagreed with scientific findings presented by a team of scientists headed by botanist Dr. Clarence Gordon of the University of Montana. Gordon said that sulphur dioxide and fluorides from the plants at Colstrip have already injured the reservation's forests. "It is ironic," Peterson said, "that the Northern Cheyennes, who point to excess involvement of outsiders in their affairs, are being led to adopt the unnecessary, punitive straight jacket of Class I regulations by the specious arguments of those very outsiders."

Eric Metcalf, a staff member of the Northern Cheyenne Research Project (NCRP), which is studying the effects of industrialization on the reservation, said Peterson's remark was "a typical case of the old hoax that if something threatens the status quo it must be the work of outside agitators." He said the Northern Cheyennes are "universally behind the petition" and Peterson's comments "demonstrate how desperate Montana Power is."

The EPA has estimated that it would cost the power companies at least \$11 million to redesign the unbuilt plants at Col-

strip to meet Class I standards. But William Coldiron, Montana Power's executive vice president, said plans for his company's \$1 billion project will remain unaltered, although he isn't sure whether the pollution control equipment will have to be improved.

One factor is Congress, which is now clearing new amendments to the Clean Air Act and has reportedly junked provisions for any more Class I petitions.

The Cheyennes have gone to court five times in the last eight years against the utilities and coal companies that began operations in eastern Montana in the late 1960s. Rowland said these struggles were part of the Cheyennes' attempt to protect their "final territory." The reservation sits on top of the Fort Union Formation, the richest coal basin in the world.

In 1973 the tribe convinced Secretary of the Interior Rogers Morton to cancel leases that would have allowed Peabody Coal, five other companies, and several speculators to strip-mine 56 percent of the reservation. Tribal lawyers discovered that the leases, which were negotiated for the tribe by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, were filled with fraud and omissions.

NCRP director Richard Monteau says the coal was worth much more than the BIA had led the Cheyennes to believe.

Monteau says the reason the Cheyennes investigated the leases is the same reason they petitioned for clean air. "Economic development brought by outsiders to Indian tribes is often a false progress that strips them of their natural resources, disrupts their lives and traditions, and leaves them only dollars that are quickly gone. We want our own kind of progress that works for us, not someone else's progress that will export our resources and leave us the consequences."

Bill Vaughn is a freelance writer in Montana.

Old South

Continued from page 3.

Police misconduct.

With two quick victories in hand, the defense went for the kill, on Tuesday, Aug. 2, taking up its motion that all charges be dropped because of police misconduct.

Their star witness was Army Sgt. William Michael Rucker who had been chief investigator for the Dawson Police department from November 1974 through September 1976.

Rucker described his previous police and military experience, the decorations he won in Vietnam and his present job as a military intelligence interrogator with a "top secret" clearance at Ft. Huachuca, Ariz.

In January 1976, Rucker said, he took part in a search of a swamp for the gun supposedly used in the killing for which the Dawson Five are charged.

After the unsuccessful search, Rucker testified, he drove away in a patrol car with Deputy Sheriff Jack Hammack and defendant James "Junior" Jackson, then 16. Rucker said they pulled onto a dirt road and stopped.

"Jack Hammack took his pistol out, pointed it between James Jackson's eyes and pulled the hammer back. He said, 'Okay, nigger, where did y'all throw the gun?' James Jackson was nervous and his eyes got big and he said nothing. Jack Hammack said again, 'Nigger, I'm going to throw you out of this car and shoot you and bury you in the woods if you don't tell me where the gun is.'"

Rucker said Jackson directed the officers to a nearby fence, but the gun was not found. Rucker said Jackson told him he gave that location because he was afraid. "He thought he was going to be shot," Rucker said.

On Thursday, "Junior" Jackson, who had turned 18 while the court was recessed the day before, told the same story. And co-defendant Roosevelt Watson, 20, testified that he confessed to the crime after a Georgia Bureau of Investigation agent threatened to electrocute him and another began fondling his gun.

Keeping blacks down.

The defendants' accounts of forced confessions had been published previously. With Rucker's help, the defense was trying to show that this was typical police conduct here.

Thus, after Rucker gave his account of the Jackson incident, defense attorney Tony Aham asked him, "Did you think it was unusual for this to happen in Dawson?"

"Not in Dawson," Rucker replied.

He then related a series of incidents he had witnessed of police mistreatment of blacks: cops slamming the heads of black suspects into walls; a cop beating a black with a gun butt; a cop pouring Mace into the eyes and mouth of a black drunk. He said two policemen sometimes would drive through black neighborhoods throwing arsenic-smeared frankfurters to dogs. He said he had been ordered to keep a list of every black who bought a gun or joined a club in Terrell County, to try to intimidate blacks registering to vote and to dig up embarrassing information on an activist black minister.

"The mayor and police chief told me if ever blacks get a foothold in the door that would mean their jobs," Rucker said. "They said they would make sure no blacks ever get in a position where they would be a threat to their security."

On cross-examination, Rucker was asked about two indictments charging



David Kominsky

There is no "New" South in Dawson. Intimidation and violence has been a way of life there for more than a century.

him with stealing a total of \$25 while a Dawson policeman.

Rucker said the indictments were a fabrication intended to discredit him. He pointed out that they were obtained eight months after the alleged incidents and just two days before a scheduled hearing before a state agency on Rucker's charges of police wrongdoing in Dawson.

Police Chief Phil Law denied Rucker's allegations and said Rucker was angry because he was fired. The defense had entered into evidence Rucker's letter of resignation, which said nothing of his being fired. It was signed by the assistant police chief and notarized.

The next week the hearings on defense motions resumed, with further testimony concerning police intimidation and surveillance of blacks in the Dawson area.

An effort was also made to challenge

the identification of defendant Roosevelt Watson by the sole eyewitness on the grounds that the identification was not made until at least two days after the shooting and robbery for which the Five are charged. This despite the fact that Watson was well known by the witness, the storekeeper whose store was robbed. Watson had a charge account at the store and was a regular customer.

On Aug. 16 Judge Greer ruled that there was insufficient evidence to prove police misconduct and ordered the defendants to stand trial as charged. He did not rule on the admissibility of the alleged confessions and gave no indication of when he would. Nor did he suppress the identification of Watson.

Trial for the Dawson Five is expected to begin Aug. 29.

Don Davis is a freelance writer in Georgia.

ORGANIZATIONS

NAM convention seeks American road to socialism

By David Moberg
Staff Writer

A few years ago the socialists in the New American Movement were singing a slightly cocky, corny, self-sufficient anthem with verses that ran like this:

We're the New American Movement

If you like you can call us NAM

We're the New American Movement

We're American as Uncle Sam....

If we can not do it,

Then, shucks, nobody can.

"It" was building a movement for socialism among a broad spectrum of working people—poor and unemployed, blue collar industrial workers, women in households or "pink collar ghettos," intellectuals, and service workers.

NAM originated five years ago with a few activists of the '60s who hoped to pull together the unravelling threads of the new left. From their founding meeting in Davenport, Iowa, to the present, there have been some consistent themes in NAM's political outlook.

They did not simply want to protest and rebel but rather to formulate an alternative to American capitalism, whose evils and excrescences had generated the sundry movements for change of the previous decade.

They were socialists who rejected the authoritarian images of bureaucratic socialism. Socialism was democratic or it was not socialism, they believed. Also, socialism could be distinctively American, building on and preserving the best traditions of this country.

From an early membership of around 200, NAM has grown slowly to 600 members, losing many others to disagreements and splits along the way. They've managed to force revisions in city budgets to increase social services, stopped utility rate hikes, organized hospital workers, worked to impeach Nixon, supported local progressive candidates, mobilized support for the counter-bicentennial demonstration of 30,000 people in Philadelphia last year, organized a national conference of women who shared their "socialist feminist" view of women's liberation and carried on hundreds of local projects.

A little different song.

After all that the remaining and newly recruited NAM members have grown a bit more sober, mellow, cooperative, experienced, skeptical, practical and systematic in their political experimentation. They are still singing, but the lyrics in a new, unofficial anthem at their convention the weekend of Aug. 11 to 14 in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, showed subtle signs of change:

In a New American Movement,

Won't you please lend a hand,

Won't you please take a stand

That we might know,

Together we can build a land,

A land without poverty,

A land of freedom

A land of equality

And a land of love

(but we gotta have your hand).

Years of faltering, marginal success in bringing about the organizations original goal of building a popular socialist movement or even in winning interim victories has led to a new emphasis. Starting two years ago, NAM decided to engage itself much more actively in whatever mass movements were developing during this time of minimal insurgent political activity. They wanted to move out of the isolation that characterized much of the contemporary American left and into mainstream, but progressive, movements and institutions.

This has led at least some NAM chapters to work much more with clearly non-

Years of faltering and marginal success in reaching its goals has led to a new emphasis. Two years ago, NAM decided to participate more actively in the developing movements of this period in order to break out of their isolation from the mainstream.

socialist, liberal groups, to take a greater part in the "new populist" politics of statewide coalitions of community groups, to be slightly more involved in local election campaigns, to markedly step up its involvement in a range of non-industrial trade unions and to work with broad-based women's organizations, such as the National Organization of Women (NOW).

At this convention there were worries from some quarters that the move into these activities would mean that NAM would not be building a socialist movement and would not be directly contributing to the creation of socialism in the U.S., but would become committed only to winning limited, albeit valuable, reforms.

More practical knowledge.

Yet the involvement in efforts to work with people in these popular but not necessarily explicitly socialist activities has already benefited NAM. The debates within NAM show more than ever that ideas about the best approach to socialist political work bear the fruitful scratches and polishes that come from practical testing and dialogue with "average Americans."

NAM has always had its "identity problem." Partly this has been because its leaders have not always had a clear conception of what they wanted to do. Most were young and still short on experience.

Although nearly everyone in the organization wants more coherence and clarity than they've mustered during the past five years, they also want to avoid the dogmatic definition of "the correct line" in favor of some more flexible, imaginative kind of arrangement.

"Can we build an organization of heretics in a world of true believers?" asks Dorothy Healey, former leader of the Southern California district of the Communist party and a member of last year's national steering committee (the National Interim Committee, or NIC, that along with a three-officer Political Committee serves as leadership for the national organization). "I think this convention gives us hope that we can."

Slow growth.

NAM has only slowly accumulated members, most of whom are also fairly well educated and largely not in industrial jobs, although a growing number are in unions. It is still plagued by the problem that many members have relatively shallow roots in communities or workplaces, holding marginal or erratic jobs or otherwise being out of touch with the mainstream life of working-class Americans.

Richard Healey, the new National Secre-



Photos by Jane Melnick

Above: Julia Reichert of the Dayton chapter of NAM addresses a chapter caucus on the convention floor. Below: Stanley Aronowitz at a session on socialism and art.

tary of NAM (and Dorothy's son), blames "the perfect party syndrome" for some of NAM's difficulties in recruitment. Otherwise sympathetic people say, he reports, "Well, I like a lot of things you're doing. Once you've really got it going, let me know and I'll join."

NAM leaders also blame deleterious effects from the fragmentation of past left groups on people who feel burnt out and disillusioned after their group disintegrates. Some people are also comfortable working only on local issues and wonder why they should join a national organization. In recent years other potential recruits have turned to varieties of apolitical personal fulfillment or have been drawn to highly disciplined, often messianic left political groups. To cap it off, they say, NAM doesn't have enough money or organizers to expand as fast as it might otherwise.

A variety of projects.

Only a few NAM chapters are strong, but they give a sense of what direction NAM might go if it grew—as everyone recognizes it must do if it is to survive.

Roughly nine of the approximately 40 chapters have been actively working on utilities issues—opposing rate hikes, working for "lifeline" legislation that would set low rates for consumers, opposing utility shutoffs to people whose bills haven't been paid, and agitating for public ownership.

NAM has been concerned with energy politics for several years and author Stanley Aronowitz admonished the convention to make the complex of energy-related issues the center of all its work. "You don't tackle energy issues," he said, "you're not a serious socialist organization. Punto. That's it."

NAM has also succeeded in expanding its labor organizing, attracting or developing leaders in various levels of public worker, social service, clerical, teacher and other unions. They have led organizing drives, strikes, campaigns to invigorate rank-and-file involvement in their unions and a variety of other activities.

Members who are not in unions have also supported from outside insurgent union candidates, ranging from Ed Sadlowski in the Steelworkers to local union officers. Support of boycotts, such as the ones in behalf of the Coors brewery strikers or the J.P. Stevens organizing drive in the South, have wide NAM involvement.

As an outgrowth of NAM's emphasis

on socialist feminism, which has often been a purely theoretical perspective without much concrete expression, NAM members have pushed clerical worker organizing in numerous cities. One NAM-initiated project, Dayton Women Working, with 75 members, is one of numerous citywide groups of its type throughout the country.

NAM's socialist feminist perspective has also led members to realize that the cultural side of clerical organizing is much different from that in other workplaces, leading to the conclusion that women must be organized with a feminist approach, not just traditional trade union tactics.

Some electoral work.

In Detroit, NAM is a major force in the campaign of the black socialist lawyer Ken Cockrel for Common Council. In Oakland NAM has been involved in various local campaigns. Some Chicago members worked for a losing black challenger to the machine candidate in last spring's mayoral race. Nevertheless, most NAM members still shy away from electoral work for a variety of reasons, ranging from their numerical weakness or absence of a desirable candidate to a distaste for such political activity.

Times have changed, however. At an early convention a NAM founder, Steve Max, was virtually hooted out of the organization for working on Bella Abzug's campaign in New York. Although this year's convention postponed any new statement on electoral activity, the clear drift was toward encouraging electoral work, even, under some conditions, within the Democratic party.

NAM activities still range over a great range of issues, a consequence of its loose focus. The chapter in Santa Cruz, Calif., was a leading force in the sit-in against the University of California's failure to defend vigorously affirmative action enrollment policies and against its involvement in South Africa. Other chapters have workers', women's or tenants' rights centers. NAM chapters have been marginally involved in several anti-nuclear demonstrations. Others do support work for Third World movements for national liberation, although that is increasingly rare.

However, the organization's current focus on labor, energy and socialist feminism seems to represent an attempt to pick clearer targets instead of scattering all over the political map, dissipating organizational energy as in the past.

Continued on page 20.

LABOR

Weakness and strength in labor law reform fight

By Malcolm Kennedy

WASHINGTON—From the outside the "labor temple"—as the AFL-CIO building is called by the fringe with a mixture of affection and chagrin—looks the same as it did last year or the year before. Its imposing white marble dominates the corner of 16th and Eye Streets with that mixture of pride and arrogance that has come to typify organized labor in recent years.

"Look at me," the building seems to shout. "I'm good enough, big enough, old enough and have achieved enough to compete with big business." And inescapably, the other message that comes down from its expensive and impersonal bulk, "I am big business."

Yet, inside the house of labor, there is this year an undercurrent of excitement, an intimation of uncertainty and change that belies the assurance of its facade. The reason is a legislative agenda that clearly divorces labor from business, an agenda rooted in the heart and history of the labor movement and currently centered in an inconspicuously named entity, "The AFL-CIO Task Force on Labor Law Reform." Their mission is to confront big business in the name of justice for workers, and their fear is that they will not be good enough or big enough to succeed.

An internal assessment.

In the wake of the election of a Democratic president and Congress, labor had high hopes that its legislative objectives would be quickly achieved. These hopes, however, were shattered early in the year when the first item on its agenda, passage of a common sites picketing bill that would advance union organizing in the construction industry, went down in defeat.

The defeat of situs picketing, both in its unexpectedness and in its aftermath of public humiliation, brought organized labor face to face with itself, forcing an assessment long avoided and equally long overdue.

What they saw was an organization that had arrogantly miscalculated its strength without, and grown careless and flabby within. To their credit, they openly shouldered the blame. And although the actual words do not fall within the customary vocabulary of the AFL-CIO hierarchy, there was perhaps a glimmer of acknowledgment that the organization had somehow fallen out of touch with the reality of changing times.

But there was little time—either for self-criticism or introspection. At least some union lobbyists and constituents were sufficiently warned by the common situs debacle to launch a successful campaign for passage of Hatch Act reform in the House.

True test in labor law reform.

The true test of where the labor movement stands, however, remains in the area of labor law reform. Despite denials that labor law reform does not mean everything to the future of labor, no one denies it means a great deal—for emotional as well as political reasons.

The current campaign echoes the great struggles of the early part of the century—the right to organize and protection from injustice. And it is a struggle with formidable opponents and big money—villains to make one's blood boil—like J.P. Stevens, Dow Chemical and the National Association of Manufacturers.

Therefore, much is invested in HR-8410, the labor law reform legislation Congress will consider when it returns from its summer recess. The bill includes an expedited unit hearing and election process, expansion of the NLRB from five to seven members to deal with the burgeoning case load,

The true test of where the labor movement stands today will be in the fight to reform the labor law. The campaign echoes the great battles for the right to organize and protection from injustice. The battle also illustrates the contradictions in the labor movement today.

expedited enforcement of Board orders, preliminary injunctions to prevent illegal firings during organizing campaigns and prior to first contracts, double back pay for those who are fired illegally, and the barring of labor law violators from federal contracts.

The price of Carter's support.

The structure of HR-8410, the process by which the final version of the bill was achieved and the efforts to secure its passage, indicate some of the lessons being learned and, inherently, some of the contradictions within organized labor.

First, labor had to deal with the reality of needing Carter administration support; to get anything, they were going to be forced to give up some things. Most painful for many was the abandonment (at least for now) of repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, the so called "right-to-work" clause permitting states to prohibit union shops. This was the most emotionally loaded issue on both the left and the right.

The other major deletion from the bill was a provision calling for automatic certification of the union as a bargaining agent with a card showing of 55 percent (meaning that if 55 percent of the workers signed union cards, no election would be necessary).

Giving up these two provisions was not uniformly popular with AFL-CIO member unions and accounted for much heated internal debate. However, analysis of the situation indicates it would have been almost impossible to get any labor reform bill passed with these sections included. That, in any case, appears to have been the White House assessment. And labor's reluctant conclusion was that there would be no labor law reform without administration support.

Nor were those two provisions the only price extracted by Carter for his support. Tied into the final stages of negotiating a labor law reform bill was a compromise on minimum wage. (See accompanying story.)

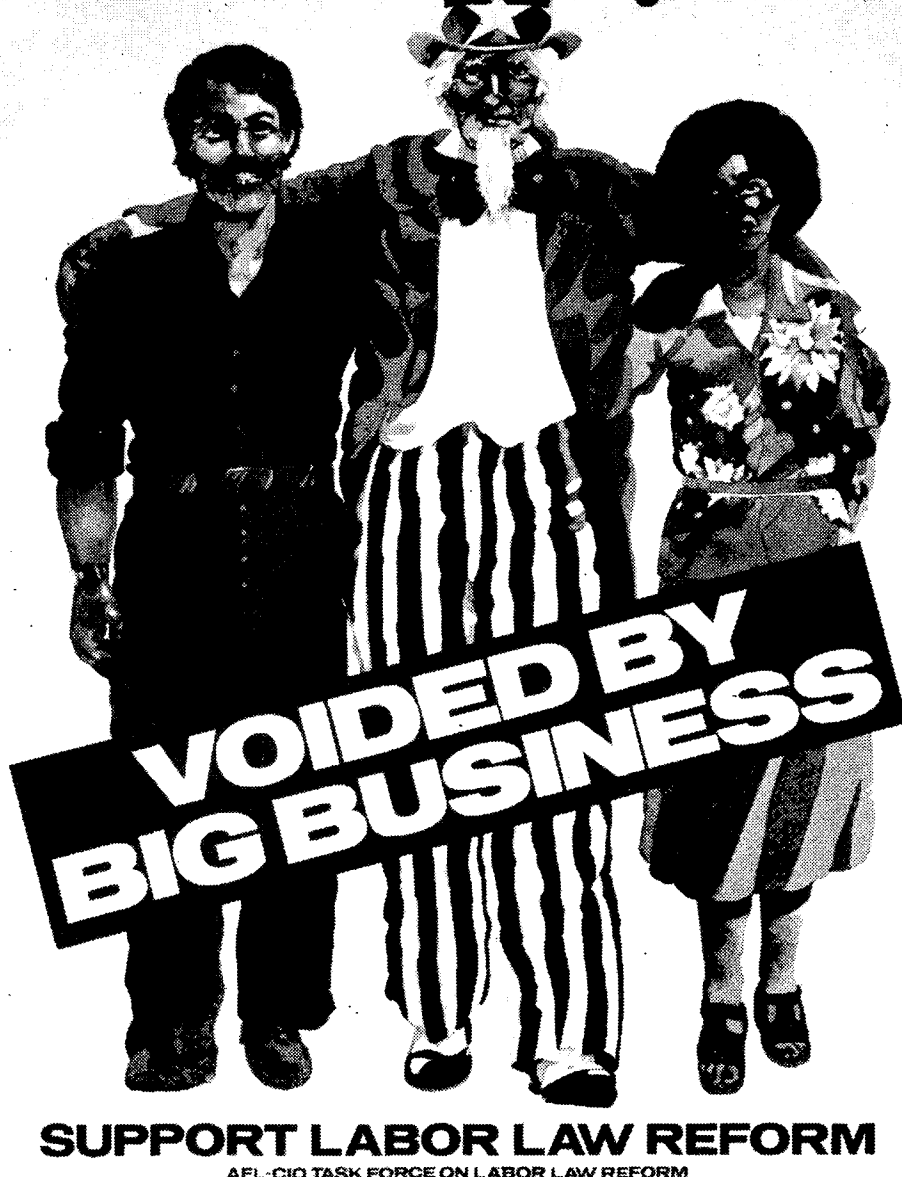
Ambivalence in labor's strategy.

Its ambivalence about the administration has led to one of labor's problems in seeking passage of the bill. They appear torn between belief that administration support ensures passage and the belief that it assures nothing.

The two views co-exist unresolved, giving the labor law reform campaign a curious aura, both diffuse and intense, both casual and desperate. Uneasy, and feeling like the underdog in the partnership, it's as

Continued on next page.

UNCLE SAM Protects You! You Can't Be Fired For Joining The Union



The AFL-CIO poster on labor law reform illustrates some of today's contradictions. The design is old-fashioned, but one of the workers is a black woman wearing an afro.

Lines sharply drawn on labor reform bill

The highly controversial bill to reform the National Labor Relations Act (HR-8410) is currently the subject of hearings in the House Labor/Management Relations subcommittee, chaired by Rep. Frank Thompson (D-NJ).

Subcommittee members traveled to Roanoke Rapids, N.C., in early August to take testimony from employees of the J.P. Stevens and Co., the second largest textile firm in the nation, which has a long history of labor-law violations. Hearings will continue in Washington D.C. when Congress reconvenes Sept. 6.

The labor law reform bill has sparked, in the words of the *Wall Street Journal*, the "biggest labor/management lobbying war in years." While it stands a good chance of passage in the House, congressional staffers expect the Senate battle to extend past the first of the year.

The importance of the bill has been recognized by unions, business and government officials.

In the opening hearings Labor Secretary Ray Marshall called the bill the "first comprehensive effort to reform our basic labor law in 30 years." Noting that the Wagner Act of 1935 had supposedly guaranteed the right of American workers to bargain collectively, Marshall stated that "the delays and the weaknesses of the NLRB's enforcement powers have, in effect, denied this right to thousands of Americans."

The AFL-CIO is gearing up an \$800,000 lobbying campaign to ensure passage. Their "Task Force of Labor Law Reform" has produced a 20-minute film, available free from AFL-CIO headquarters, and assembled a list of 1000 mostly young, articulate unionists to sell the reform package around the country. Over 20,000 letters have gone out to civic organizations offering the use of the film and a labor speaker.

Richard Leshner, president of the U.S.

The Wall Street Journal calls it the "biggest labor/management lobbying war in years."

Chamber of Commerce, has denounced the bill as a "thinly veiled attempt to increase the size, financial strength, and political power of organized labor."

Other observers have charged that the AFL-CIO, in their rush to gain presidential support, significantly compromised the bill compared to a version introduced by Thompson last January (*ITT*, Feb. 9). A comparison of those bills, however, indicates that, although certain provisions were deleted, the bill is comparable and would substantially aid labor's drive to organize non-union workers, particularly in the South.

The back pay provision, to cite only one example, appears stronger than the original. Under present law, a worker who is illegally fired because of union activities has a right to reinstatement plus the amount of lost wages, discounted by any substitute income earned. This procedure encourages delay because the NLRB sponsors hearings to determine the exact back pay liability.

Thompson's January bill (HR-77) granted illegally fired employees the right to sue for triple back wages in the courts, but retained the deduction for interim earnings. The new bill, on the other hand, grants direct compensation of double back pay without the interim-earnings provision. This change eliminates the necessity of NLRB hearings and thus facilitates the procedure. According to congressional sources, the dollar amount paid would be comparable in most cases.

—Dan Marshall



One of the biggest loopholes in the present bill is the lack of coverage for young people, who make up a disproportionate share of workers in the corporate fast food industry.

Continued from previous page.

though labor were saying, "Let the administration do the work, we've certainly paid for it," while at the same time thinking, "There's no one we can really trust but ourselves, so we'd better cover all the

The other major contradictions in the campaign and, by extension, with the AFL-CIO, tend to revolve around the problems of reconciling a 1950s mentality with the realities of the 1970s.

A depressing example of the conflict, related by an observer, occurred at a briefing on labor law reform, one of several held by the AFL-CIO in an unusually intensive effort to keep its own constituents informed. It appears that Andrew J. Biemiller, 71 years old, director of the AFL-CIO Legislative Department for more than 20 years, harangued the gathering on the unreliability of today's Congress. He bemoaned the fact that "the old crowd is pretty well thinned out," noting that, unlike the new crop, "they used to follow leaders."

Biemiller mourned that there used to be 200 secure labor votes, while now there are only 135. Then, as an example of the fickleness of labor's current allies, he cited the vote on the fast nuclear breeder-reactor. He simply could not understand why some of the legislators who are generally considered pro-labor voted against the breeder-reactor, while many of labor's foes supported it—and topped off the speech by applauding the AFL-CIO for muscling the bill through despite opposition.

His very use of that particular example, his blindness to the possibility of contrary views in his audience and his total befuddlement at the House vote, were eloquent commentary on the consequences of applying outdated values to current circumstances.

Thomas Donahue.

Yet, on the other side of the ledger—and key to the labor law reform effort—is Thomas Reilly Donahue, executive assistant to president George Meany.

Thoughtful, eloquent, with an air of candor, Donahue is especially well-liked by younger trade unionists, not only for

his receptiveness to a broad spectrum of views, but also for presenting a public image that they respect and to which they can relate.

Donahue is credited with negotiating the labor law reform package with the Carter administration.

Similar contradictions run through the work of the Task Force on Labor Law Reform, the organization assembled to run the campaign for passage. Both the old and the new are represented in Vic Kambler, the Task Force director. On the one hand, he is the hand-picked person of the conservative head of the AFL-CIO Building Trades Department, Robert Georgine; yet he hardly typifies the image of building trades personnel—he is young, energetic, quick-witted, with an air of "modernity." (Bets are that the old will probably win out eventually.)

Community coalition.

The Task Force is also struggling in an unprecedented way to involve "community groups" in the process. Women's organizations, minority groups and religious representatives have all been melded into coalitions supporting labor law reform and minimum wage, and are scheduled to testify before Congress on behalf of labor's position. By and large, this is seen as a wholesome and liberalizing trend. Yet the AFL-CIO is reported to treat these groups gingerly—as with the Carter administration, the need for support somewhat exceeds the level of trust.

Finally, there is the literature generated by the task force, most of it better, and certainly more copious than usual, but written as though uncertain of who or what the audience might be.

The poster on labor law reform produced by the AFL-CIO illustrates some of the contradictions. It shows, in typical '50s fashion, Uncle Sam, with his arms around two workers. The design is cluttered, the typefaces archaic. But there is one acknowledgement of changing times—one of the workers is a black woman in an afro and sandals.

Malcolm Kennedy is a freelance writer in Washington familiar with the labor law reform campaign.

LABOR

Labor gives in to Carter on minimum wage

Problems abound with the present minimum wage legislation—only 58 percent of working Americans are covered and the \$2.30 limit provides an income below the poverty line.

By Patrick Lacefield

Less than a week after last November's election the *AFL-CIO News* hailed the election of labor-backed candidates in the House and Senate and, most importantly, the White House as "a great victory for American working people." An editorial cartoon at that time portrayed organized labor—represented by Uncle Sam—striding purposefully arm-in-arm with President-elect Carter and the "liberal Congress."

Nine months later it seems clear that these erstwhile allies have long since broken ranks. AFL-CIO president George Meany, who had counted on some IOUs from the administration, has been heard to remark that Carter "may be the most conservative President since Herbert Hoover."

In the latest development, Carter announced at his July 13 press conference that a compromise had been reached with organized labor on raising the minimum wage, a key plank in labor's legislative platform. Currently the minimum wage stands at \$2.30 per hour, a rate that reflects the realities of 1972. Since that time both the consumer price index and the average manufacturing wage have risen 36 percent. The result is that Americans earning minimum wage or slightly above have incomes falling below the official poverty line (now slightly over \$5000 per year for a family of four) even while employed full time.

Organized labor, joining forces with national women's and civil rights organizations in the Coalition for a Fair Minimum Wage, originally proposed a hike to \$3.00 per hour with future raises indexed to 60 percent of the average manufacturing rate. The coalition also sought to broaden the coverage to millions of workers not currently under federal minimum wage jurisdiction and favored a single standard wage rather than a separate level for agricultural and nonagricultural workers. The current minimum for agricultural workers covered by the act is \$1.90.

Labor and its allies based their proposal on government data that indicated that a wage of \$2.92 per hour would be necessary for a full-time worker to support a family of four at a standard of living just above the poverty line.

Sensing a lack of support in Congress for the \$3.00 level, and in the wake of several early setbacks in congressional lobbying, the labor forces lowered their sights and rallied behind a bill introduced by Rep. John Dent (D-PA) that would have mandated a \$2.85 level with indexing at 60 percent.

The Carter administration, however,

was unwilling to accept the Dent bill, and negotiated with Thomas Donahue, executive assistant to George Meany, a compromise that raised the minimum wage to \$2.65 per hour, with future raises to be indexed at 53 percent of the average manufacturing wage.

The compromise, which overcame its first hurdle July 19 when it was passed by a House committee in a 29-7 vote, would also extend standard coverage to agricultural workers and to employees of establishments controlled by conglomerates with annual sales of over \$100 million that might not be currently covered.

There are many shortcomings to both the present minimum wage structure and the proposed compromise measure. Only 58 percent of the American work force is under federal minimum wage jurisdiction today. The present \$2.30 per hour rate does not apply to farmworkers, eight million working teenagers and over two million employees who receive tips as compensation and whose employers are currently obligated to pay them only half the minimum wage.

According to government studies issued in 1969-70, nearly half of workers earning less than the minimum wage were women and fully a quarter of them were black or Hispanic. The Labor department now estimates that the proportion of minimum wage workers who are women has risen to near 70 percent.

Significantly, 40 percent of those earning the minimum wage are primary wage earners for their families; 25 percent have two or more dependents.

Despite the compromise agreement and the support of the Carter administration, minimum wage legislation is expected to face a tough fight in Congress. The alliance between business and conservative forces that waylaid earlier labor-backed reform efforts like common sites picketing is now seeking to defeat any increase in the minimum wage, any broadening of coverage and the concept of indexing. In his presentation before the House committee, Dr. Jack Carlson, a vice president and chief economist for the Chamber of Commerce, argued that a hike in the minimum wage would eliminate two million full and part-time jobs in the private sector and result in a 3 percent increase in consumer prices. The *New York Times* chimed in editorially that surely "some workers would be laid off" and that this measure "would make the South less attractive to employers seeking cheaper labor and cause a migration of workers northward."

The AFL-CIO countered, arguing that there would be little loss of jobs if the minimum was raised. They pointed to Labor department studies in both Republican and Democratic administrations that have shown substantial benefits, due largely to increased purchasing power on the part of workers, and only isolated instances of adverse effects involving a few small firms and a limited number of employees.

"Lowering wages doesn't create jobs," said Andrew Biemiller of the AFL-CIO, "it creates poverty. Only by raising the minimum wage above the poverty level can America fulfill the promise of the Fair Labor Standards Act. A just society can do no less."

The minimum wage package is now awaiting final House action. Senate majority leader Robert C. Byrd (D-WV) predicts Senate action on the legislation prior to the October adjournment.

Patrick Lacefield works with *Win* magazine in New York City.

IN THE WORLD

BRITAIN

Eurocommunism splits British CP

By Mervyn Jones

DISCONTENT IN THE BRITISH Communist party, simmering since 1968, has erupted in an open split. A New Communist party has been formed with Sid French as provisional chairman; French has for many years been the key full-timer in the Surrey district, taking in the industrial towns on the southern fringe of London. Despite its name, the NCP is a fundamentalist group in revolt against the changes in Communist policy generally known as Eurocommunism.

Opening shots in the battle were fired when the CP, along with its much bigger brothers in Italy and France, condemned the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia. R. Palme Dutt, a senior figure in the party since its foundation in 1920 and much respected as a theoretician, was appalled. Together with French and others, he forced a vote at the next conference (the first such event, except on minor tactical issues, in the party's history). The leadership was backed by about 75 percent of the delegates.

Dutt is now dead, but comrades of his way of thinking have made grumbling protests from time to time when the party, and its newspaper the *Morning Star*, condemned violations of human rights in the USSR. To champion imprisoned Soviet dissidents, they argued, was to join in a chorus uniting wish-washy liberals, social-democrats and, indeed, reactionaries. It is of course true that people who have always been anti-Soviet make capital out of the treatment of dissidents, Jews, and other groups victimized in the USSR.

British road.

The dispute, however, has been waged mainly on ideological lines. Unusual among Communist parties, Britain's has a basic program running to some 10,000 words, first drawn up in 1951 and revised from time to time. This document is called *The British Road to Socialism* and it's said on good authority that the key passages were written by Joseph Stalin himself. Strangely, it contained from the outset some of the ideas that would be described today as "communism Italian style."

It envisaged the transition to socialism as the outcome of popular pressure, without violence or civil war, and expressed in the victory of "progressive forces" (the CP plus the good elements in the whole Labor movement) at an election. It pledged that, following this victory, the incoming socialist government would maintain democratic political processes, freedom of speech and the press, and the right to diversity of opinion.

The '70s have seen the full flowering of Eurocommunism. While the Italian and (recently) the Spanish CPs took the lead in the new thinking, and the French tagged cautiously along, the British were cautious too. Gordon McLennan, the general secretary, has let it be known that he regards the word "Eurocommunism" as a bourgeois journalistic term.

For example, British Communists have deep misgivings over the Italian idea of the historic compromise and its expression in support of a Christian-Democrat government. They recall that the worst blunder in their own history was to urge the continuance of the wartime coalition beyond 1945—a policy that made them ridiculous

in the face of a sweeping Labor victory that year.

Still, the existence of *The British Road to Socialism* as a guiding text makes a full-scale reversion to classical Leninism impossible. The battle has therefore been waged over the periodic updating of the program, with the Duttite group trying to stem any further watering-down of traditional ideas.

Pleasing nobody.

The new edition, approved by the leadership and due to be presented to a conference this fall, contains the pledge—already made by the Italian and French parties—that a Communist-led government would yield power if defeated at a subsequent election. This was too much for French and his friends to swallow. Declaring their total lack of confidence in leaders who can advance such a possibility, they have walked out and called on all true communists to follow them.

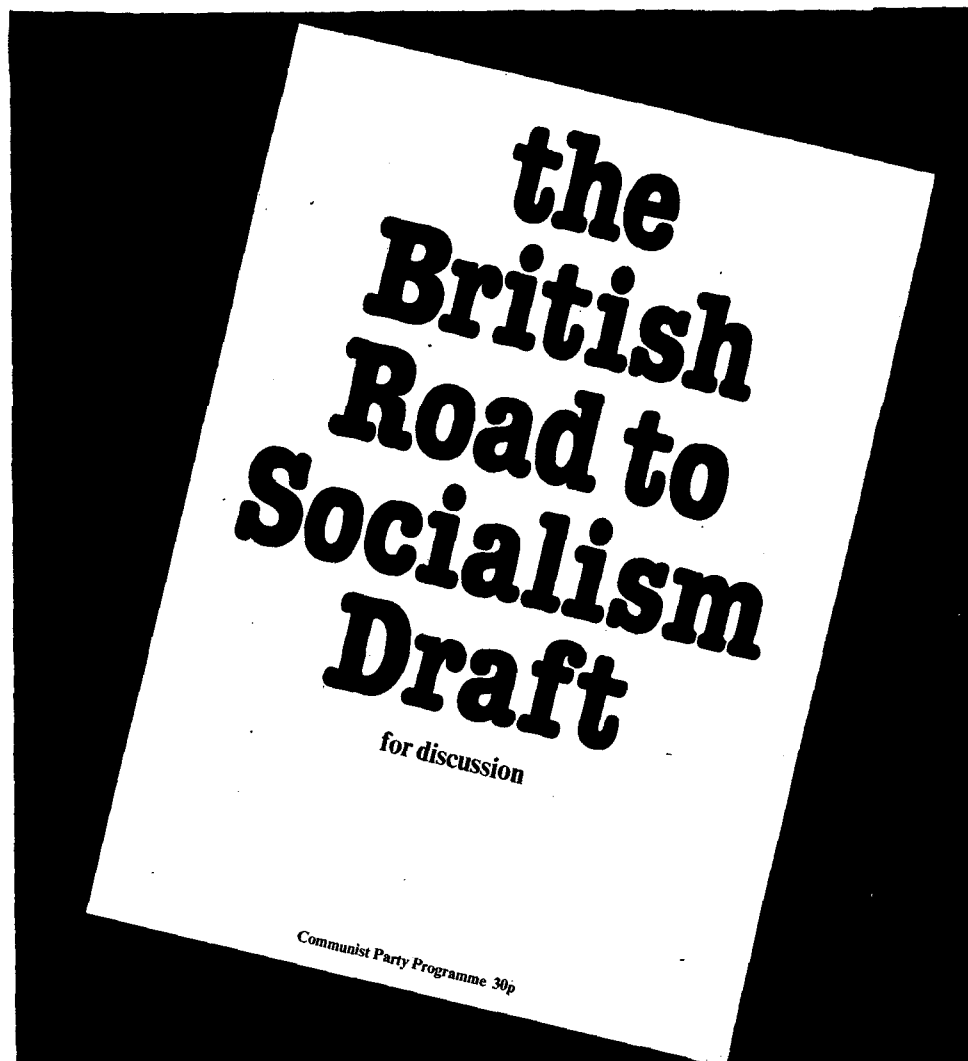
McLennan is in the unhappy position of pleasing nobody. Jimmy Reid—the one effective working-class leader produced by the CP in recent years, who led the successful sit-in that saved the Clyde shipyards from closing and polled a respectable 6,000 votes as Communist candidate in the locality at the 1974 election—left the party last year, charging that its conversion to democracy and pluralism was insincere. From the other flank, French attacks the conversion itself.

The CP can't be charged with secretiveness. Over recent months the *Morning Star* has published pages of letters discussing the revised program and now the split. It even allowed French, before he quit, to advertise meetings where he would speak on the theme of "What's Wrong with the New Program." Letters since the split reveal that a good many comrades agree with his views. They say that he's right on the basic issues, while criticizing him for walking out instead of continuing the fight within the party.

A major cause of the malaise is the failure of the CP to grow. Despite widespread disillusionment with the record of Labor governments, it is regarded by the bulk of the working class as an irrelevance. Its election results are pathetic—seldom reaching 5 percent of the poll even in solidly working-class areas. Its stated membership is only 28,000 and has varied little from that figure in over 30 years. (At the time of Stalingrad, it had peaked at 60,000.) French now asserts, from his inside knowledge of party affairs, that the figure is phony anyway and the real membership is 13,000. Of these, he claims to have drawn away 2,000.

Splits and splits.

The broader tragedy is the fragmentation



British Communists are now debating a new version of their party's program, *The British Road to Socialism*. Among controversial provisions are ones pledging that a Communist-led government would step down if defeated at the polls and committing the party to the civil rights of homosexuals.

of the British left. The NCP adds another to the list of what Italians eloquently call *partitini*. We have the Communist party (Marxist-Leninist), which is the Maoist group; the Workers' Revolutionary party, the Socialist Workers' party, and the International Marxist group—these three being more or less Trotskyist. Some by-elections feature three of four candidates claiming to incarnate the true interests of the workers, furiously denouncing each other and each getting about 500 votes in a poll of 50,000. Nor must we forget the thousands

of people who consider themselves to be Marxists but find it more rational to work within the Labor party.

The current split will not be fatal to the CP. Party members tend at such times to rally to the organization—as Claud Cockburn once aptly put it, to stick to the old regiment. But it defers once again that day when the CP can do what it hoped to do way back in 1920, and seize the leadership of the British working-class.

Mervyn Jones is a correspondent for the *New Statesman*.

A talk with CP head Gordon McLennan

By Sam Kushner

The debate within the British Communist party affords the English-speaking world a first-hand view of a major debate within the ranks of an influential Communist party over issues that are also of great concern to Communists in France, Italy, Spain, Japan, Australia and Yugoslavia.

In mid-November the British Communist party will hold its 35th National Congress and there the delegates will debate the issues of Eurocommunism as they are reflected in *The British Road to Socialism*, the party's program.

The British CP leadership decided to allow the televising of the debate and the forthcoming convention, a decision that some of the old timers want no part of.

In late April I interviewed Gordon McLennan, the General Secretary of the Communist party. I discussed with McLennan both *The British Road to Socialism* and his party's position on Eurocommunism and the Soviet Union.

Q: *The British Road to Socialism*, the new draft of your party program, spells out the British Communist party's understanding of conditions that are also being

discussed in France, Spain and Italy. What do you see as the impact of the new approach to socialism that is being discussed in Western Europe on *The British Road to Socialism*?

A: The gigantic electoral advances of the Italian Communist party last year, and the victory last month of the Communist-Socialist united front in France while Labour is suffering heavy defeats in Britain stimulates interest here. People say, "What is it in the Communist party's strategy and policies there that are increasingly attracting working people while Labour's policies and attitudes here are losing the support of working people?"

The Communist parties of Western Europe are increasingly developing strategies for the road to socialism in accordance with the circumstances and the history and traditions of their own countries.

Because we have developed a strategy in this way, and because it coincides with the way the Italians, the French and particularly the Spanish Communists are developing their strategies and programs, we are correctly said to be part of that group of Com-

Continued on page 9.

U.S./KOREA

CIA linked to Korea cover-up

By Jeffrey Stein
WASHINGTON—Did the CIA try to discourage an investigation into the operations of South Korean intelligence agents here who might have bribed U.S. Congressmen?

That possibility has been raised here in testimony by the State department's former head of Korean affairs before a grand jury investigating the Korean bribery scandal. Donald Ranard, who, as chief of the Korean desk at the State department from 1971 to 1974 complained on repeated occasions of Korean CIA operations in the U.S. to the Justice department and the FBI, has identified a CIA officer who called him in the summer of 1973 "to express concern that a crimp in KCIA operations here could have repercussions on CIA operations there (South Korea)." He said that Homer Thrall, listed on official records as a State department employee, was the man who called him.

"Homer called me with specific reference to the fact that I had called the FBI into it," Ranard said in an interview. "Today, as I look back on it, what Homer was intending to tell me was, 'The agency does not want an investigation to go forward. This is a word to the wise. People around here don't like it.'"

Ranard added that Thrall, whom he had known at the American embassy in Rangoon, Burma (where Ranard was Deputy Chief of Mission in 1963), "would not have called me unless someone was putting him up to it."

A CIA personnel officer said the agency had no listing of Thrall as a CIA employee. He is listed in the State department's Biographic Register as an "International Relations Officer" with the rank of GS-14 (a senior level position) as of 1968. Personnel records at State show that he resigned in 1968 after a series of assignments in Asia as either a political or economic affairs counsellor in embassies. "There is no doubt in my mind that Thrall was a CIA officer," Ranard said. Thrall could not be reached for comment.

The call from the CIA officer came "in

June or July" of 1973, Ranard said, at a time when the Korea desk chief was strenuously complaining to the Justice department about the activities of Tongsun Park, a Washington wheeler-dealer now known to have links to the KCIA, and about KCIA agents who were harassing South Koreans living in the U.S.

As early as 1971, Ranard had supplied information to the Justice department to the effect that "we had ample reason to know that Tongsun Park was involved in lobbying and had offered money to Rep. William Broomfield," Ranard said.

Ranard had also asked the Justice department to look into the fundraising operations and personnel connected to Radio of Free Asia, which he suspected was tied to South Korean intelligence. In March 1972 the Justice department had said there was "insufficient evidence" to continue an investigation. A former KCIA director, Kim Hyung Wook, however, has testified to a congressional committee that Radio Free Asia's former executive officer, Bo Hee Park (who is now a top aide to the Reverend Sun Moon, whose actions in the U.S. have also come into question), was a KCIA agent under his control.

Thrall's purported statement to Ranard that an investigation into KCIA operations here might hurt American CIA operations in South Korea has been revealed at a time when the current director of the CIA, Admiral Stansfield Turner, has publicly denied that the CIA has any agreement with the KCIA of an operational nature. Turner said in a press conference in early August that the CIA has no agreement with the KCIA concerning its operations in the U.S. or the CIA's in South Korea. Foreign intelligence operations in the U.S., Turner said, are the province of the FBI.

CIA contacts blown.

The next week, Ranard criticized the CIA for "a lack of interest in moving ahead" and cooperating with investigators while he was chief of Korean affairs. He reserved his harshest criticism, however,



UPI

for FBI officials, who, he said, have been telling congressional committees that when two KCIA officers left Washington in 1974 as a result of his prodding, "They thought I had accomplished what I had set out to do and that the ballgame was over. That," he said angrily, "is a lot of crap. Tongsun Park was still there. The Unification church [of Rev. Moon] was all over the place, and the harassment of Koreans here at the hands of the KCIA was still going on, albeit on a more subtle basis. The FBI," Ranard charged, "is trying to explain away why no action was taken."

Ranard said that the FBI and the Justice department "have a lot of explaining to do. There was [Attorney General William] Saxbe at the Georgetown Club, being entertained by Tongsun Park. Nothing seemed to be happening with the investigation."

Reflecting on the recall of Korean agents from the U.S. as the bribery scandal has

developed in the press, Ranard said that Thrall's concern about the effect of the investigation on CIA-KCIA relations had probably been well-founded. "In the end," he said, "what happened? My guess is that the CIA *did* blow a lot of contacts with what I blew up."

Suggesting that somewhere along the line there might have been a cover-up, Ranard added that "Ultimately, when nothing much came out of the FBI investigation [in the early '70s] they were successful."

Asked whether there were other "hints" from CIA officials that he should not press for an investigation of the KCIA, Ranard thought for a moment and then said, "It was hard to know at the time. After all, they're masters at dropping a hint and running in the other direction."

Jeffrey Stein is writing a history of KCIA operations in the U.S. at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C.

Continued from page 8.

munist parties arriving at similar conclusions. Some people call this "Eurocommunism." I don't accept the term but the ideas are worthy of discussion.

What is the attitude of your party to socialism in the Soviet Union as it's now practiced? And to socialism in China as it has developed in recent years?

Our attitude to the Soviet Union is that the Soviet people and the Communist party of the Soviet Union led by Lenin not only opened up a way for the people of that great country towards a new and better and higher form of life as represented in the victory of the October Revolution of 1917 but they opened up the way for all humanity to a higher stage of social and political development. We have had warm fraternal relations based on active solidarity and unity in our attitude in the struggle against imperialism, the struggle for peace and disarmament, the struggle for the national liberation movements throughout the world, the united action of working people everywhere against the domination of monopoly capital and for the ending of all this by development of Socialist society everywhere in the world.

The British Communist party has never been and will never be anti-Soviet in any form at all.

That does not mean that on specific questions we might not take a different point of view from our comrades in the Soviet Union. Where we might consider

that the government and the Communist party of the Soviet Union take positions or policies that we believe are incorrect and we believe it's our job to express these views where these policies impact our situation and where they have some international relevance and international moment. We would not, of course, for a moment consider raising questions that are quite definitely the responsibility and concern of the Soviet government and the Soviet people. That is their responsibility and we would not interfere in that.

But where things in socialist society affect ability of Communist parties in capitalistic countries, and particularly in our own country, to win clarity and understanding among the masses of people about what socialism is and how socialism should be developed, then we naturally deal with these questions. And one of the questions that has been raised in recent years has been the question of the treatment of those who disagree with the policies of the party or the government.

We are of the view that where citizens of these countries have political differences with policies of the party and the government they should have the opportunity to express them publicly in reasonable form.

We have expressed this on many occasions. We are against the handling of these problems by administrative measures—what are called administrative measures—either banning them from public expression, or harassment of any kind or deprivation of jobs or any sentences through

the use of the courts for any reason or expulsion from the country.

That is absolutely clear in our program, *The British Road to Socialism*, that there will be freedom of religious worship, freedom of the trade unions from the state and the party, the freedom of artists to write, to express themselves in every way that is possible for them to do so. Any opposition to the ideas of socialism can be and will be freely and publicly expressed. And opposition parties will have the right to contest for the peoples' support on the same basis as the Communists and Socialists. And if they win that support in a general election, the the Communists and Socialists, if they are in government at that time, will, naturally, stand down and the new government will take its place.

How do you view developments within the socialist societies of Eastern Europe? For instance, Charter 77 in Czechoslovakia?

We think Charter 77 and other questions of this nature should be handled by public discussion, public debate and the answering of any criticisms these citizens of the socialist countries have of the party and the government. We are positive that is the correct way for the further development of socialism.

Of course socialism is infinitely more democratic than is capitalism. Of that there is no question. Socialism is essentially more democratic than capitalism because the countries have been run in the interests of the overwhelming majority

of the people. Whereas capitalist countries are run in the interest of a tiny minority of the people. That is not the question.

The question is what is the further development of socialist democracy in terms of the ability of individual citizens to express publicly their disagreements with party and government policy. And on this we believe it can only be handled on the basis of public discussion rather than by administrative measures.

Do you think that the current human rights campaign being conducted by the U.S. and its allies against the Soviet Union compromises your position?

The imperialists and the people who are interested in disagreements and divisions between the capitalist and socialist countries are concerned about the developments that were set in train by the Helsinki accords. There is a conference in Belgrade about the follow-up of Helsinki. And these cold warriors want to undermine the process of detente and disarmament in Europe.

But we do not think that is the correct way to develop if we were always intimidated from expressing our views publicly because cold warriors and others were conducting an anti-Soviet campaign. Then we would never say anything public about these questions. And what we do is make it absolutely clear that we make our views on these questions known from the point of view of friendship and fraternal relations, solidarity and joint action with the socialist countries against imperialism and for peace.

THE AMERICAS

Mexico gripped by new scandals and political intrigue

By Harvey Levenstein

MEXICO CITY—An unusual burst of revelations of government corruption has given Mexicans proof of what they knew all along: that their country's reputation as the most corrupt in all of Latin America is richly deserved. The most prominent of the scandals is reputed to involve the theft of over \$40 million, most of which allegedly ended up in the pockets of two government officials.

The two looted a newly-created government "trust." The administration of ex-President Luis Echeverria, who left office last December, had created over 600 of these government-owned corporations and put them into a wide variety of businesses. Many were set up to compete directly with private companies. Others were supposed to help the poor help themselves.

The idea was attractive. Almost everyone here knows, or thinks they know, that much of the immensely valuable land around Acapulco Bay had originally belonged to poor *ejidos*, Mexican communal farms. In the 1940s, during the presidency of Miguel Aleman Valesco, much of it was expropriated by the President and his associates. The *ejido* members remained poor while luxury hotels sprouted on their former lands. Aleman allegedly became the third richest person in the world.

Although no charges were ever made against ex-President Aleman, who is still a power in this country, the Bahia de Banderas trust was supposed to prevent this from happening on the beautiful beaches that run for miles up and down the coast from the secluded little resort town of Puerto Vallarta, made famous by Elizabeth Taylor and Richard Burton. The *ejidos* gave thousands of acres of their land to the trust, in return for which they were given shares in the corporation. The corporation was then to build a multi-million dollar resort complex, in whose profits they would share. In addition, to compensate for the loss of agricultural jobs, the corporation would buy 125 fishing boats for the *ejidos*, allowing farmers to retool themselves into fishermen. Others would be trained as hotel and restaurant employees and be hired to staff the new resorts, hotels, apartments, restaurants and golf course.

Poor as ever.

That was over six years ago. Today, the *ejido* members are as poor as ever, living on less land. Only one hotel was ever opened, a small one with 45 rooms. Two weeks ago it closed, unable to function when for over half of the year it had no guests at all.

In the port, 90 of the 120 fishing boats lie decomposing, motorless and abandoned, obviously beyond the technical capacities of farmers. The *ejido* members say the whole idea of converting them to fishermen was hatched out of the blue, with no technical or feasibility studies. Indeed, says their leader, they were not consulted on anything. "They never told us anything; they never took us into account," said the embittered farmer.

Down the beach, the luxurious Center for Social and Economic Studies of the Third World, created by ex-President Echeverria as one of a number of expensive testimonials to himself, lies almost empty. Intended to stimulate the interchange of technical knowledge among the less developed countries, its only resident is a Japanese technician. The rest of the installation has been turned over to a fishing school.

Typically, the masterminds of the fraud, a grandson of ex-President Abelardo Rodriguez and Alfredo Rios Camarena, had time to flee the country.

The latest scandal involves two officials who looted a government trust. But their exposure was a thinly veiled attack on ex-President Luis Echeverria (right). He is the leader of a faction seeking to control the ruling PRI party.

Only four underlings have been jailed. In many ways, Rios Camarena typifies the kind of ambitious young politician the ruling party of the Institutionalized Revolution (PRI) attracts. Now only in his mid-30s, he began his political career as an anti-PRI student radical. He was one of the leaders of a massive communist-led university strike in 1958. But upon graduation, the all-embracing PRI made the poor but politically talented student the kind of offer he could not refuse. He soon rose rapidly in the party and government hierarchy, favored by a number of prominent politicians of varying political tendencies. By the time he was in his late 20s he had an enormous house in Mexico City's wealthiest suburb, a black Mercedes Benz, two sports cars, and all the other trappings of power and ill-gotten gains in Mexican politics. When he began dealing with peasants and *ejidos*, he acquired the next status symbol: a corps of armed bodyguards.

Attack on Echeverria.

Yet, despite the size of their boodle, Rios Camarena and Rodriguez are merely pawns in a much larger game. The fraud was denounced by the Secretary of Agrarian Reform in the new administration of President Jose Lopez Portillo. Its exposure is really a thinly-veiled attack on his predecessor as Secretary and, through him, on ex-President Echeverria. The long-ruling PRI, to which both Echeverria and Lopez Portillo belong, is currently being wracked by a power struggle between the followers of Echeverria and those of his predecessor, Gustavo Diaz Ordaz, who has strong backing in business and conservative circles.



Echeverria's Minister of Agrarian Reform is now leader of the government party (virtually the only one) in the Chamber of Deputies. Many other of his followers still hold high posts in the government and PRI. Their opponents are trying to force their resignations and demotion by exposing their inability to run the government. President Lopez Portillo, who has no strong personal following of his own, is vascillating in the middle of his party's internecine war.

As a result, a lot of dirty linen that is not usually aired in Mexico is seeing the light of day. Another scandal is brewing around a similar trust created in the Acapulco area. There, the head of the trust is reputed to have sold land expropriated from *ejidos* for a pittance to an associate who subsequently made a fortune in reselling it. Again, Echeverria's Secretary of Agrarian Reform and, through him, the entire Echeverria faction, is the real object of the charges. The smell of huge payoffs is emanating from the charge that the government bought over 100 fiberglass boats for fishing cooperatives that do not want them.

Yet the revelations will only go so far, and then stop. They will not, for instance, touch Echeverria himself. Yet it is common knowledge that, like all Mexican presidents, he enriched himself in office. He is reputed to have secretly purchased the land that Mexico's newest resort, Cancun, is on, when the government decided to make it the Caribbean Acapulco. By the time he left the presidency, he was wealthy enough to create Mexico's largest newspaper chain.

Even less likely to be investigated is what may be the granddaddy of all the frauds: the suspicion surrounding the construction of Echeverria's showcase industrial project, the huge government-owned Las Truchas-Lazaro Cardenas steel complex. Planned as the largest steel complex in Latin America, construction has been abruptly halted after completion of its first phase, on which the government has already spent over \$1 billion. After eight months of operation, the existing plant is running at only 30 percent of capacity, in large part, it is alleged, because of faulty construction and the use of low quality materials. Although the construction contracts would appear to be ripe for investigation, the government is not interested in pursuing the matter. Hundreds of millions of the dollars that went into the complex were borrowed from the very international lending institutions whom it is now desperately courting.

Harvey Levenstein is professor of history at McMaster University in Hamilton, Ontario.

Quebec's far-reaching labor law

By Henry Milner

MONTREAL—The Parti Quebecois government has brought down far-reaching labor legislation. If enacted, this legislation will make Quebec perhaps the most progressive of North American jurisdictions in its treatment of workers. It also marks another step in the Quebec state's growing intervention into formerly autonomous economic activities and institutions.

The legislation prohibits employers from using strikebreakers or "scabs" during a lockout or a strike and gives priority to the striking workers to get their jobs back when work resumes. Employers violating the anti-scab rule would be subject to fines of up to \$1,000 a day.

The Labor Code amendments will also give the labor department the power to impose a collective agreement for one year in cases where negotiations for an agreement by a newly-accredited union bog down.

The legislation also contains measures designed to eliminate union abuses. The most important of those is the new clause

obliging unions to hold secret ballots when electing an executive, voting on a strike or an end to a strike, and when voting on a new collective agreement.

The legislation would make it easier for unions to gain accreditation in non-unionized shops. A union would need to sign up 35 percent instead of the current 50 percent, of workers in a bargaining unit in order to obtain a government-supervised secret ballot in which a majority of the votes cast is sufficient to win accreditation.

The reaction of business was negative—as might have been expected. Pierre Desmarais, president of the Conseil du Patronat (liberally: Bosses Council) called it one-sided and anti-business, and predicted that it would accelerate the trend toward driving away business investment. And his was but one voice among many.

The reaction of members of the Quebec Federation of Labor and Confederation of National Trade Unions was positive. Labor welcomed the move as a related de-

monstration of the government's long proclaimed "prejudice" toward workers.

Recently labor has been increasingly critical of the PQ government, accusing it of inaction since the period just after its election in November 1976. In those first few months the government had ended wage or price controls, dropped the charges pending against public service workers who had defied the previous government's back-to-work legislation and raised the minimum wage to \$3.13 per hour.

The legislation seems to have quieted the tense atmosphere caused by the latest outbreak of violence on the labor front. On July 22nd, security guards at the American-owned Robin Hood flour mills shot and wounded several demonstrating workers.

There is no doubt that the legislation, if it goes through, will have serious consequences. If business carries out what is effectively a threat to cut off the already-slowed flow of investment, then the PQ government may be forced to move more drastically—one way or another.

¶ *"In 17th century America, there were few elderly people, but their authority*

AMERICA GROWS OLD

THE WAY THINGS are going, there may soon be more U.S. citizens over 55 than there are under.

This is something new under the sun, and it creates problems for both ends of the age continuum, not to speak of the middle.

One way to bring the situation into focus is to compare a few statistics:

- In the colonial U.S. only 20 percent of the (white) population lived out the Biblical three-score years and ten. In our century, 80 percent live 70 years or more.

- In 1975 people over 65 (the official designation of "elderly," and for many the age of forced retirement) constituted 11 percent of the total population. In 2025, it is projected that there will be 26 million more elderly persons, about 16 percent of the total population.

One of the results of this massive shift in the proportion of old to young is that the two groups are pitted against each other as never before. As "senior citizens" organize and fight mandatory retirement and resultant poverty, unemployed youth are being pauperized and react with anger that sometimes threatens the whole social fabric. (See "Looting among the Looters," *ITT*, August 15.)

As for the age groups in between—those who bear the major productive burden of the economy—another set of statistics:

A few years ago, the social security system operated on a ratio of four workers to one beneficiary.

Now the ratio is 3.2 workers to one beneficiary.

By 2030, the ratio will approach two to one.

This means a decreasing number of workers are supporting an increasing number of beneficiaries. It explains why there seems to be a choice between a bigger and bigger bite out of the worker's check for "insurance" and the possibility that the insurance system may go bankrupt, cheating those who paid into it while they were working and are entitled to benefits now.

The aging have more acute problems in this regard than either of the other groupings. Until recently they have been relatively powerless to solve them.

One of the problems is **health**. People over 65 need more medical attention and are less able to pay for it. Medicare has demonstrated that the medical profession can prolong life and make it more enjoyable. But Medicare covers only certain areas (eyes, ears, teeth and feet are not covered, and neither are routine physical examinations). Also Medicare requires a "deductible" payment of \$100 before benefits begin, a sum many retirees can't afford.

Medicaid is supposed to pick up some of this cost for the elderly poor. But it is so complicated and confusing a system that it often meets the needs of rip-off artists better than it does those it

was designed to help.

Housing is another problem for the elderly. There are many schools of thought about what is best: e.g. a secure place in an extended family, or a community of age-peers. (See review of *Old People/New Lives*, page 14.) But the urgent fact is that there are not enough decent living quarters at prices the elderly can afford. Public housing for the elderly exists (in big cities), and most of it is very good and very cheap. But there are long waiting lists for available apartments. Frequently "clout" is necessary to get one. And there is nothing comparable for the elderly who live in small towns or the country.

Hunger is a real problem for many living on fixed pensions or welfare in an age of inflation. "Meal sites" funded by HEW are a partial solution for those who can get to them. "Meals on Wheels" programs reach a small, fortunate percentage of shut-ins.

It has been suggested by professionals in the field that the elderly would do better if they were given an income that represents the cost to federal, state and local government of the services now being provided them. They would spend less time, energy, carfare and telephone money getting what they end up with, and would have their independence and dignity preserved as well.

What is as new as the proportion of age to youth in the U.S. is the social movement around the needs of the aging. It has been said that the '70s are the decade of the elderly, in the sense that the '60s was the decade of youth, and the '50s the decade of minorities.

On the one hand, a professional body of personnel and theory is emerging, dedicated to study and solving particular aspects of the problem. Since the 1971 White House Conference on Aging, geriatrics and gerontology have been seen as "disciplines" or "professions" in which young scholars and activists can find meaningful work.

On the other hand, the subjects of the study have been taking their fate into their own hands. Small, local groups have sprung up all over the country to work on particular problems. A group called Action Coalition of Elders (*ITT*, Aug 3) attacks conditions in a nursing home outside Pittsburgh. A group in New York, under the leadership of Gil Green, works on social security. On the national scale, three very large organizations are bringing pressure on the centers of governmental power.



Robert K. Schaeffer



Maggie Kuhn picketing the AMA convention.

tive is the American Association of Retired Persons (allied with the National Retired Teachers Association). It has a good insurance program, a low-cost mail order pharmacy, a magazine, and a Washington lobby.

In the field of influencing legislation, the National Council of Senior Citizens is probably more effective. It is composed of retired trade unionists who know how to organize for what they want and has good relations with the federal agencies—including HEW, which supplies it with funds.

Newest and most radical is the Gray Panthers, which claims not

to be an organization at all, but a "movement." Formed around the charismatic personality of Maggie Kuhn, its function for the first five years of its life was to "open the problem" to public scrutiny. Street theater, dramatic demonstrations on specific issues—at the AMA convention in 1973—at a Chicago department store (See profile of Stella Francis on page 13)—at state Medicaid headquarters in Portland, Ore.) and testimony, invited and uninvited, at public hearings on legislation—these are a few of the Panthers' tactics for raising public consciousness.

In the second half of the '70s

these "wrinkled radicals" are moving toward more consistent efforts and more long-term solutions. The first national convention in 1975 set up priorities, including not only "Health, Housing and Hunger" but "a new economic system."

Anthropologists, sociologists and retired Americans who are using some of their new leisure for world travel have all noticed that there are societies in the world today where the aged are not victims or burdens but honored and useful members of the body politic.

China is one example. The Igbo and Yoruba peoples of West Africa—in fact most of black Africa—are others.

(Among the Igbos chronological age is the sole requirement for the attainment of certain offices, and old women are as eligible as old men. There is a saying in Igbo, "She is no longer a woman; now she is one of us.")

Part of the answer, then, is to view the years of a person's life as a continuum, instead of as a progression from one stage to another with sharp demarcation lines between. Another part is a set of values that rates a citizen's contribution on some other scale than the ability to produce surplus value.

From each according to his abilities? To each according to his needs?

—Janet Stevenson

¶ *"The values of our society rest upon a work ethic that gives highest value to*

was very great.... Elderly people rarely retired to make way for the young....Th

MANY WAYS OF GROW

SOPHIE

On Sophie's 70th birthday, five of her friends took the senior citizens' bus to the nearest large town (50 cents round trip, payment optional) and treated her to a Chinese dinner. They chose that restaurant for two reasons: Sophie likes that kind of food, and the washrooms are on the ground floor. Sophie can't climb stairs since her heart attack.

It was a festive meal—all the ladies in their best slack suits, with costume jewelry and their gray hair carefully arranged. After the fortune cookies, Sophie retired to the washroom while the others divided the check. She came out looking tired and a little tearful. She dreaded going home.

Sophie lives with her son and daughter-in-law and their children. "They're wonderful to me and I love them. But I'd like to have a place of my own," Sophie says.

She has always had a well-defined place of her own. Born in one of New York City's Polish neighborhoods, she went to school and church with the children of her mother's friends. At 19 she married a boy from the same neighborhood. Sixteen years and three children later, he was killed in an industrial accident, and Sophie was left with a handful of unpaid bills and a family to support.

"I thought I had it hard in those days, but now I'd like to go back, to be 40 again, with the kids growing up," She worked first in a button factory, then in a bakery, then as a supermarket cashier. The supermarket retires its employees at 65. Sophie was piecing out her social security as a part-time cleaning woman when the heart attack struck her down. When she moved to the country town where her son makes his home, the neighbors gave her a good-bye party.

"Take it easy for a change," they told her. "You've earned it. Enjoy the fresh air, the nice clean water, the peace and quiet. Nobody mugging you in the street. You've got it made."

Maybe. With no rent to pay, Sophie makes a token contribution to the family food budget and keeps up with her heavy bills for dental and optical care (two areas not covered by Medicare although they're of top importance to virtually everyone over 65). She has a TV set in her bedroom, helps with the dishes, stays with the children when their mother goes shopping. Three of four days a week she lunches at the nearby meal site, and stays for the arts-and-crafts meeting where she is teaching knitting and learning macrame.

But Sophie is homesick. The murmur of the brook that flows past the house is no substitute for the street noises she used to take for granted. The A&P isn't her corner store. The church isn't St. Ignatius, and she doesn't really know the young priest.

The dishes she washes aren't her dishes. The children aren't hers either. She loves them, but when the big yellow school bus picks them up, she welcomes the quiet. "I'm getting too old for

this," she tells the other grandmothers, and they agree.

Sophie and her friends talk about her situation. She can't go back to New York: she sold her furniture; she can't climb stairs; she can't cope with the monoxide, the hoodlums, the traffic. She has thought about finding a place of her own—a small furnished apartment within walking distance of the grocery and the postoffice. The trouble is, apartments are all upstairs over stores, or in private homes. Besides, she's really afraid to live alone. Suppose she had an attack in the night?

The doctor says she has asthma because she hasn't made the adjustment. Sophie's had a lot of practice making adjustments before in her life. "It's different when you're young. You keep hoping things will be better some day. Now there isn't any more some day. What I've got now, that's what I'm going to have."

She gets off the bus at her son's front gate. The five friends, backs and feet tired from the outing, watch as she plods up the path, carrying a little bag of fortune cookies for the children.

One says, "At least I've got a place of my own." The others nod and sigh.

—Valerie Taylor

JUD

Jud's house is full of fiddles. Not violins; fiddles. Some are more than 100 years old. They were made by his father, who, like Jud, was a caller for square dances when he was young. "Danced all night in them days," Jud says, "and went to work in the gravel pit next morning. We had some times, I can tell you."

Although his hands are gnarled into claws, Jud still plays his fiddles. If you go to see him, you're likely to find him stringing or tuning or polishing a satiny case. "Curly maple, this one is. Seasoned it four years before I put a knife to it. Can't hurry wood."

Actually you might have some trouble getting into his house to see his collection. Jud won't let in anyone who wants to "do him good." "I don't need any charity, by God." The house is tall and narrow, the clapboards weathered to gray, the fence sagging, the stone wall that divides the backyard from the pasture falling down. Indoors everything is covered with dust and the air is close. There are ashes on the kitchen floor; the unused front-room stove is rusty.

Now and then the public health nurse jolies her way in, gets Jud into the bathtub, washes and trims his hair, and takes a bulging sack of clothes to the laundromat. The store delivers his groceries. He eats mostly cereal, except for the substantial lunch he takes five days a week at the town's meal site.

The lunch is free for those who are unable to pay, but Jud puts a dollar in the little envelope beside his plate every day although his social security is minimal and the taxes on his place get higher every year. He means to hold on to his house and yard. (The farm was sold long ago.) "I was born here and I figure on dying here. Me

and the Old Man are on good terms. When he wants me, all he has to do is call me."

Jud can ride back and forth to the meal site in a car subsidized by the government. Someone brings him his plate and cuts up his meat while the hardier stand in line to be served. At home he can make it from the woodpile to the kitchenstove (the only heat he has) and to the cupboard, the bathroom and the telephone. Unless the snow is too deep, he can also make it to the RFD mailbox, 50 feet downhill from the front porch. "Damn mailman never brings me anything worth reading." He stopped taking the weekly newspaper last time they raised the price.

Two years ago Jud was pretty shaky. He's picked up some since he started getting five solid meals a week. He joins in the table talk with gusto, has strong ideas on politics—get him started on Richard Nixon and the Methodist ladies have to cover their ears. He doesn't mind being teased about being a ladies' man. Sometimes he brings one of his fiddles and plays after the meal.

When winter sets in, the women who run the meal site start worrying about Jud. "He'll never make it through. Remember last year he had pneumonia and wouldn't see a doctor?" (The driver of the pick-up car took him his hot lunch for more than a month while he was sick.)

"He ought to go into the Extended Care Unit."

"He'd meet whoever came for him with a shotgun."

"He'll take sick some night and let the fire go out and they'll find him frozen stiff."

"Well, what can you do?" There's nothing anyone can do, but that doesn't stop a person from worrying.

"Live Free or Die" is the state motto in New Hampshire. At 88, barely five feet tall and weighing less than 100 pounds; his face dominated by a beaky nose and fierce blue eyes, Jud has every intention of dying free, whenever the Old Man gets around to him.

—Valerie Taylor

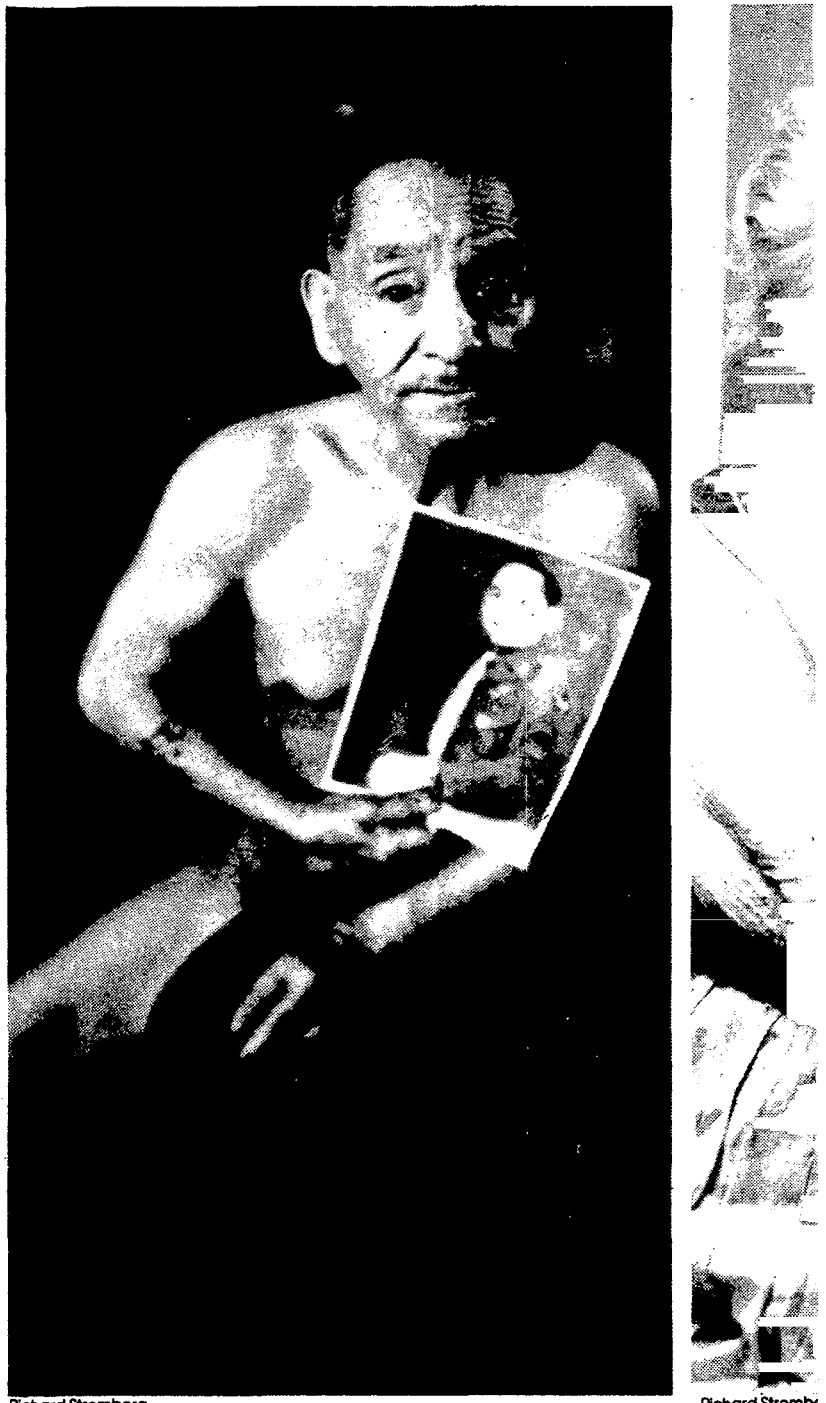
HENRY

Henry lives in one room in Uptown, one of Chicago's poorer neighborhoods. To get there you walk up two flights of garbage-strewn stairs and down a long hallway with no lights.

In his room are: a mattress, two chairs, a small sink with a cabinet, a hotplate and tin pot, a radiator. No table. No bureau. Two overflowing bags of garbage. A dank smell. And bugs, bugs crawling over it all. Spiders. Roaches of many sizes. And some smaller bugs. It's very dark in the room, hard to see. Maybe they're baby roaches. An awful lot of baby roaches.

Henry runs his hands through thinning, dirty grey hair above a sallow face and apologizes about the bugs. He looks at his room through my eyes, and the life he's got used to suddenly embarrasses him. "This place is a wreck," he says with a little laugh.

He's glad to have a visitor—even one who's taking down what he says in a notebook. Very



Richard Stromberg

Richard Stromberg

people in the prime of their productive years. We should encourage a plurality c

was respect without affection, veneration without love. Old age was exalted by

ING OLD



Ann Osborn



few people talk to him nowadays. He's in his 70s. Between his social security and a small pension from his years as a warehouse worker, he gets about \$1,900 a year. His room costs \$125 a month, including heat and electricity. Fortunately he only pays two-thirds of that. A federal program pays the rest.

The only clothes I see (besides the green work shirt and pants he's wearing) are two shirts on the bed and a navy blue sweater hanging on the doorknob. I ask him about the big freeze last year. Was there enough heat in the building?

He says the heat stayed on all winter. "But those kids broke my window, and no one came to fix it for a week. And then," he shakes his head, smiling sadly, "boy, was it cold!"

Down the hall is one of the two bathrooms that serve the people who live in 30 rooms along this hallway. There's never any hot water, and the toilet regularly backs up and the landlord takes a week to fix it.

Henry's garbage is full of empty soup cans. He says he eats soup, corned beef hash, spaghetti. He used to drink coffee once or twice a week at a nearby restaurant, but no more. It just costs too much. Does he ever go hungry at the end of the month? "Yes, sometimes," he answers but says no more about it.

He shops for his own groceries, walking the streets in fear. One Sunday morning about a year ago two teenage boys knocked him down, broke his glasses and stole his wallet. He lost \$25—all the money he had for the rest of that month. "And people drove by in cars, saw it all and did nothing!" The police talked to him, but they too did nothing.

Now he goes out only at busy times of the day. "Kids today, they run the streets. It was different when I was a kid; then you tipped your hat, you showed some respect. If you didn't, you'd get a beating."

Henry's chief worry is the row of medicine bottles on the sink. They are for arthritis and heart trouble, and they are almost empty. He was supposed to go back to the clinic for more last week, but he had no money for busfare. A neighbor says he will go to the clinic and pick up the medicine. But will they give it to him? He wonders. "They get mad if you don't come back just when they say to, you know."

"I worked all my life, and this is all I have," he says, his hand gesturing at the peeling paint on the walls, the six-inch hole in the floor, the bugs. His wife died 15 years ago. They had no children. A nephew used to come and see him, but he has disappeared. Henry's voice grows angry when he speaks of his nephew.

He's angry that old people like himself aren't better cared for, but like many Americans, he mainly blames himself. His situation makes him doubt even his right to hold opinions.

What should be done to make things better, I ask.

"Why do you ask me? I'm old, just waiting to die. You know more than me."

—Judy MacLean



Jane Melnick

STELLA

In 1972, Stella Francis, a retired R.N., sat amid her senior citizens group, listening to Maggie Kuhn of the Gray Panthers. Francis had never been an activist before, "but you never know when you'll become inspired to get off your rocker. I found it was a hidden thing I'd been wanting to do all my life."

Soon she found herself going across town to meetings in all kinds of weather. "We started on food stamps, and were able to get them for quite a few people who weren't receiving them, but were eligible," she recalls. "Then we went on to get more senior citizen housing."

They were winning that too, but Francis discovered that "It wasn't what I wanted. They offered me a beautiful place, and I refused to move there. That's what a Panther is about—we should be with people of all ages."

Today, at age 72, Stella Francis works five days a week as the Chicago Gray Panthers' only staffperson. As we sit in the tiny downtown office, our talk is interrupted by phone calls. People want literature, information. The weekly radio show must be planned. A member stops by with a copy of a legislation to prepare Francis for a confrontation with Sen. Charles Percy later in the week.

She loves her work. She showed up last winter in the worst snow storm of the Big Freeze. "Retirement can kill you. I know a man, he retired Dec. 31 and Died Jan. 2. All of a sudden, now, the government has discovered 65 isn't so bad. Now they want to make it 70. We say, if

you're qualified, you should stay on the job as long as you want."

A chance to keep on contributing through work is one way senior citizens can stay alive, healthy and happy. But there is another important factor. Love.

"I have nieces and nephews, they all stop by or call, sometimes only to say, 'Hello, old lady, just want to see how you're doing.' When they call me 'old lady' it's not with disrespect—it's done with love," she says.

Although she never married, she lives amid an extended family, with nieces, nephews, grandnieces and grand-nephews, even great-grand-nieces and nephews. She describes their love as a blanket wrapping her, keeping her warm. She speaks of a life knit together by thousands of tiny events: helping toddlers to take first steps; the same child stopping by a few years later for an after-school cookie or staying for a summer when Francis wasn't working. High school graduations. Marriages, or, "Just as likely today, moving-in-together."

"You have to have children around. We need to surround ourselves with love. If we did that, we wouldn't all be sick."

Senior citizens lose so much, shut off away from the young, she says. But the young lose out, too. She remembers the older people from her own childhood, many different adults she could turn to.

With so many children of working parents who aren't getting enough care, she asks, why doesn't society use the large group of older people who could help? "Hire someone my age to

be with them. Let us pour our love over the babies."

After old age, inevitably, comes death. But love and work can change the meaning of death. Francis remembers the death of her sister-in-law, with whom she had lived for many years. She had a stroke, but "we brought her right home. If she'd been around a lot of other people with strokes, she'd have given in to it. But she was around all her children and grandchildren. She regained the use of her arm and leg. We said, whatever happens, it will happen together. She visited all her brothers and sisters, and one day she sat down, and peacefully closed her eyes, with no fear—and died."

Now, the family goes on. Stella Francis has become the senior "old lady." When she's gone, there will be another. She'd like to see the Gray Panthers fight to reintegrate old and young, to knit us all into new, loving patterns. "It's the only thing that will save this country," she says.

She's fighting with the Panthers against forced retirement of people over 65 at Carson, Pirie Scott department store. "It occurred to us that Santa Claus is over 65. So we all dressed up like Santa and said, fire him first. Now people who work there have a choice about retirement."

She pickets the American Medical Association's convention. ("They just charge too much.") She marches against nuclear weapons in the rain. And she lives with the children. "They are the future. And who would dare live without our future?" she asks.

—Judy MacLean

hics in its place... We must make room for all of these values. For only on that

law and custom, but it was wounded in the heart." —David Hackett Fischer



Paul Sequiera

WANT TO KNOW MORE?

The Coming of Age, by Simone de Beauvoir, paperback, Warner Library, 1973.

This is a—if not *the*—basic text on aging. Dense reading, but solidly informative, it asks such questions as: when is a person old? can aging—biological and/or psychological—be postponed? can society be restructured to salvage the skills of the old for their own sake and to society's advantage? Conditions of the aged are examined in three kinds of society: "historical," "present-day" and "socialist." Although Beauvoir presents no easy solutions, she does note that "the class struggle governs the manner in which old age takes hold of a man," and points a hopeful direction for the future.

Why Survive?—Being Old in America, by Robert Butler, MD, Harper & Row, 1975, now in paperback \$5.95.

A Pulitzer Prize winning overview of the problem by the doctor/psychiatrist who coined the term "ageism." It is interesting, persuasive and authoritative on most of the crucial issues: e.g. housing, medical problems and the cost of care, violence directed against the aged, political action by and for the aged, suggestions for psychological as well as physical self-help.

Those who want to take action will find a long provocative "Agenda for Action" covering everything from consciousness-raising to "resistance" and "surveillance activity," followed by a discussion of 14 goals that Butler suggests be made part of a "national policy on aging."

You and Your Aging Parent, The Modern Family's Guide to Emotional, Physical, and Financial

You Your and Aging Parent

BARBARA SILVERSTONE &
HELEN KANDEL HYMAN

Problems, by Barbara Silverstone and Helen Kandel Hyman, Pantheon, 1976, \$10.

A useful reference work for those who have and/or an aging parent. It deals with feelings on the part of both sides of the generation gap that are difficult to handle and therefore dangerous. It attempts to guide the reader to a realistic assessment of the loss of independence on the part of the aged and the solutions that are appropriate at different stages of the continuum. There is a good chapter on the emotional problems of death and grief. The unusual strength of the book lies in the amount of up-to-date, practical information it offers on such matters as Social Security, Medicare and Medicaid, available community and private services, how to go about helping or getting help for the old ones who can still "manage independently" and for those who no

longer can. The appendices include directories of services and an abbreviated but informative checklist of common diseases of the elderly and their symptoms.

Growing Old in America, by David Hackett Fischer, Oxford Univ. Press, N.Y., 1977, \$10.95. David H. Fischer is a professor at Brandeis University, which has an unusually strong department of gerontology, and his book makes a contribution to scholarship and theory on the subject that reflects that collective concern. He reviews the history of the position of societal attitudes toward the old from the colonial beginnings of the U.S. to the present. His conclusion is that we must find "a better system that offers more dignity and prosperity to the old without imposing an increasingly heavy and regressive burden on the young."

Old People/New Lives—Community Creation in a Retirement Residence, by Jennie-Keith Ross, U. of Chicago Press, 1977, \$13.50. This grossly overpriced little book is one of those rare dissertations that attract and hold the non-academic reader despite the shackles of the form. Jennie-Keith Ross spent a year among a group of elderly French workers in a facility set up by their trade union (with a sprinkling of non-members from the village in which the residence is located).

She was interested in observing the formation of "community," starting from scratch, and she chronicles the process not only in statistical, but in engrossingly personal terms. Her findings argue for the "peer group community" as against a place in the extended family, and comparisons with other peer communities of different class composition and in different countries reinforce this conclusion.

Interestingly, the community forms by dividing the group into two antagonistic camps, based upon political divisions that had reality in the pasts of these people, but only symbolic importance in the present. The few residents who fail to integrate into the community are those that fail to take sides.

Call It Zest, by Elizabeth Yates, Stephen Greene Press, Brattleboro, Vt., 1977, \$7.95.

The subjects of these interviews are men and women—all past 70—who are living rich, meaningful lives. They have much in common, perhaps the most important being middle-class backgrounds which have prepared them to pick or pick up careers that can't be terminated by mandatory retirement ukases. All are religious in

some way or another. All are financially fairly secure. And all are interested in food—which may bear out Adelle Davis' belief that participation and nutrition are the twin keys to vigor in old age.

Included are doctors (one of whom becomes a clown, entertaining sick children when he retires), writers, ministers, an orchardist, a painter, a banker, an engineer, a restaurant owner and cook and a former saleswoman. What they prove is that given advantages—including the best of educations—old people not only enjoy their "golden years," but contribute to the commonweal.

Too Old, Too Sick, Too Bad, by Frank Moss and Val Halamandaris, Aspen Systems, Germantown, Md.

This book by a former U.S. Senator (who is the author of most of the nursing home legislation presently on the statute books) and the associate counsel of the Senate's Committee on Aging, is to be published later this summer. Highly recommended by Jack Anderson, it deals with conditions in nursing homes and abuses of the Medicare and Medicaid programs.

Nursing Homes, by Linda Horn and Elma Griesel, introduction by Maggie Kuhn, Beacon Press, 1977, paperback \$2.95 (Reviewed in *IN THESE TIMES*, Aug. 1.)

Prime Time

A bi-monthly periodical "by and for older women" which runs unusually interesting and thoughtful articles, letters and news of the anti-ageism movement plus radical perspectives on feminism. Sub. \$7, single copies 75¢. 420 W. 46th St., New York, NY, 10036

broad basis can a just and free society be built." —David Hackett Fischer

IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

The Panama Canal Treaty

In spite of the Carter administration's Wilsonian ballyhoo about the desirability of "open diplomacy," its negotiations with Panama, like those under Kissinger and those of Wilson at Versailles, have been shrouded in secrecy. A week after the Aug. 10th announcement on Panama, Carter's two ambassadors Sol Linowitz and Ellsworth Bunker still refused to divulge the treaty's terms in testimony before the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee. Meanwhile, the White House has managed public information about everything from the general terms of the agreement to the "history" of the canal and the American role in Panama.

Enough is known about the historical record of American interest in Panama and about the likely terms of agreement to assess the administration's intent. But the debate that has already erupted in the U.S. makes it anything but clear that Congress will ratify the agreements, and the position socialists and the left in the U.S. ought to take remains problematic.

Although political-economic penetration and control, rather than outright annexation, has been characteristic of American imperialism since the late 1890s, annexation (of Hawaii, Guam, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, the Virgin Islands, Guantanamo, and the Canal Zone) has played a key role in securing bases and waterways for American military muscle and commercial advantage.

The pending agreement with Panama is designed to preserve the substance of American imperial power while giving up the annexationist form. "Rape," as Theodore Roosevelt's Secretary of State Elihu Root called the Panama grab, is to be expiated by seduction.

- The U.S. will keep control of the canal until the year 2000. In the meantime it will reconstitute the canal agency so that its board of directors will consist of five Americans and four Panamanians. The agency administrator will be an American with a Panamanian deputy until 1990; thereafter until the year 2000 a Panamanian will be the administrator with an American deputy.

- The U.S. will maintain its military force in Panama until 2000, but with a reduced number of bases, and with some installations operated jointly with the Panama national guard. The U.S. will also train Panamanian security forces.

- The U.S. retains its right indefinitely after 1999 to intervene militarily to preserve the "neutrality" and sustained operation of the canal.

- For the canal right of way, Panama will receive \$50-\$60 million a year instead of the approximately \$2 million it now receives, and instead of the \$1 billion down and \$300 million per year the Panama Government had been asking.

- The U.S. will arrange some \$300 million in loans and credits from the Export-Import Bank, the Agency for International Development, and other sources for general economic development, and will facilitate another \$1 billion in investments and loans to develop a major copper mining project.

- Within three years after treaty ratification, Panama will assume full formal sovereignty over what is now the Canal Zone, but Americans will be accorded U.S. legal rights in Panamanian courts and Americans sentenced to jail terms will serve them in the U.S. There will be no compensation to Panama for being deprived of the land, resources and tax revenue in the canal zone area for the past 75 years.

In sum, the U.S. gives up perpetual ownership of the canal, while retaining an effectively perpetual right to intervene militarily in Panama's internal affairs.



The agreement is designed to preserve American imperial power while giving up outright annexation. Rape is to be replaced by seduction.

More important to American imperial objectives, the agreement sustains refusal of the U.S. since the turn of the century to submit the canal to international regulation and control. The pending agreement prevents the canal from becoming a true international waterway. And the Carter administration has solid reason to expect that under the treaty terms the canal, though formally Panamanian after the year 2000, will remain in effect an American canal.

If the agreement is fully consummated Panama's economy will be more intricately integrated into the U.S. corporate system of investment and trade; its military and police will continue to be American-trained; its currently broader bourgeois ruling class will be less nationalistically inclined the more it shares in the largesse of multinational corporate enterprise; the canal will operate under American-trained personnel; the Panamanian government will be inclined to cooperate with American policy and will be more strongly positioned to do so as the self-declared champion of formal Panamanian sovereignty against Yankee imperialism.

Right opposition.

The American political right is marshalling its forces against the agreement. Ex-

cept for its lunatic fringe, which still yearns for the return of "Anglo-Saxon" world supremacy, the right's objective is less the canal itself than using the issue to build its constituency for other purposes including an assault on detente and rapprochement with Cuba.

Ronald Reagan has given the right its rallying cry: "We bought it, we paid for it, we built it." Which is wrong on all counts.

First, "we" did not buy the canal; the U.S. Government bought Philippe Bunau-Varilla's bankrupt corporation's rights for \$40 million, \$6 million of which went to J.P. Morgan & Co. as the financial agent in the transaction. And in the bargain, the government "bought" the services of one of Morgan's corporate law firms, Sullivan & Cromwell, whose William Nelson Cromwell leagued along with Bunau-Varilla to put across the transaction. Sen. Hayakawa's brazen statement that "we stole it fair and square" is closer to the truth.

Second, "we" did not pay for it. The U.S. advanced \$387 million through government bond flotations. World commerce paid for it through toll payments, which have amounted to over \$600 million since 1914. If anyone else paid for it, it was Colombia in losing Panama (the U.S. in 1921 compensated Colombia \$25

million in exchange for oil rights granted to American corporations), along with the Panamanians who lost the use of 533 square miles of their territory.

Third, "we" did not build it. Black West Indian labor built the canal, at wages of 10¢ an hour. And most of the lives lost in building the canal were black.

Right-wingers are lionizing President Theodore Roosevelt, who had no use for their neanderthal "free market" ideology, and are invoking his honor against Panama's supposed iniquity in not acquiescing in the 1903 treaty. But in arguing the unilateral abrogation by the U.S. of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850 with Britain, which would have submitted the canal to international control, Roosevelt proclaimed, "I do not admit the 'deadhand' of the treaty-making power in the past." And he argued that a nation has the right in its national interests to abrogate treaties unilaterally.

These right-wingers are among those who defend U.S. violations of treaties with Native Americans and who cheer on Cuban emigres violating U.S. treaty obligations. They also want to keep the U.S. Army, Navy, and Air Force Southern (Hemisphere) Commands and the counter-revolutionary U.S. Army Jungle Warfare Training Center in Panama. All of these are in violation of the 1903 treaty, since they are not there to defend the canal.

Canal Zone socialism.

Conservatives and right-wingers (and nostalgic liberals) are also exploiting the American pride in the engineering and medical triumph represented by the canal. They are less vocal in noting that the Canal represents everything they denounce as "socialism" and "welfare statism." The canal's construction was and remains the largest single public works ever undertaken by the American government. The canal company is a government company that runs as efficiently as General Motors, or more so. Private enterprise is prohibited from the Canal Zone; and the American residents benefit from subsidized housing, public transportation, publicly owned retail stores, and "socialized" medicine. Success and a high standard of living without the profit motive. No wonder the American canal zone residents don't want to come home to capitalist America. They're very happy with their "socialist" colony.

Many on the American left are supporting the Carter administration on the pending agreement, on grounds that it is necessary to block right-wing strength in foreign policy matters generally and that the agreement is a decent step in a direction away from blatant imperialism. This position has merit. But we favor something better than another "lesser evil."

We think American socialists should participate in the debates on the canal issue to educate the American public about the history of American imperialism, to convince Americans of the need to respect other people's right to self-determination, specifically Panama's right to assume full sovereignty over its own land, including control of the canal, just as Egypt assumed control of Suez.

Ideally, however, it would be best to place all international waterways such as the Panama Canal under genuine international control participated in by all nations and consistent with Panama's sovereignty—one that guarantees equal commercial access and that closes such waterways to military vessels. Such a dispensation is not to be expected soon.

The pending agreement will neither restore Panama's full sovereign rights, nor will it accomplish internationalization. It will most probably retard the achievement of both well into the next century. It ought to be renegotiated.

Letters

A letter from our Congressman

Editor:

As *IN THESE TIMES* prepares to celebrate its first birthday, I want to offer my thoughts on the important role your newspaper has undertaken and is competently filling.

The types of news stories and analyses I read weekly in *IN THESE TIMES* are continually providing me with vital information and insights on issues with which I am concerned. I would guess that a reason for starting the paper was the scarcity of writings offering a progressive viewpoint on national issues, and in my case, my needs in this regard are now more fully being met.

I look forward to being educated by *IN THESE TIMES* for many years to come, and congratulate you and the rest of the staff on a job well done.

—John Conyers
Member of Congress
1st District, Michigan

A hand for Roberta Lynch

Editor:

This Aug. 3 issue is one of the best. All of us here particularly applaud Roberta Lynch and her piece "Pornography reflects male need for power" (and female need for martyrdom on the altar of male brutality, both go together and belong to a dead but not yet buried personality type).

It is a great article—her comments on the rationalization that is so nauseatingly presented over and over interminably to acquit all forms of destructive behavior—i.e., "There are even those who argue that it (sexual violence, sadism, child pornography) represents a 'more healthy' release of those impulses directing them away from over expression"—

says it all. Such rationalizations refuse to ponder the statistical increases in torture of all kinds, overt to such a degree that death is the "healthy" release. Undoubtedly there are those who argue that war provides a "healthy release" of the "natural human bellicosity." Haven't you heard that one also?

Thanks for your great essays, some of them really are.

—Carmella Sussman
Laguna Beach, Calif.

Torture and Israel

Editor:

I was pleased to see John Judis' piece on the *Sunday Times*' report on Israeli torture of Palestinian prisoners (*ITT*, Aug. 10).

ITT readers may be interested to know that in response to this report, six United Methodist church executives have urged President Carter to consider applying human rights criteria to foreign aid for Israel.

The letter, hand-delivered to the White House during Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin's visit (July 18), urged the President to raise the issue of torture and other human rights violations with Begin, and to request permission for an impartial investigation of the charges by an international commission.

The United Methodist executives pointed out that "current United States aid policy calls for the application of human rights criteria to the foreign assistance programs of our country. Since Israel is by far the largest recipient of U.S. foreign aid (two-thirds of the total aid granted), the application of these human rights provisions must receive serious consideration."

Incidentally, copies of the *Sunday Times* article are available from the Palestine Human Rights Campaign, Walnut Bottom, PA 17266.

—Ted Swedenburg
Coordinator, Middle East
Resource Center
Washington, D.C.

A dumb punk from Shannon?

Editor:

I am against abortion as a way of life in our already sick society. Institutional-

ized murder is all we need to add to our culture. What we the democratic socialists need to do is to eliminate the major cause of abortion, poverty. Why eliminate the helpless child? Why not eliminate our real enemy—the system that breeds poverty and enforces poverty of not only the body but the soul.

I realize that I am just a dumb punk from Shannon, but most of the working class women I know are against abortion. I can't drag a lot of statistics out and say here it is, but this is what I hear.

—Tom Lehman
Castle Shannon, Pa.

More on abortion

Editor:

I once felt the way Michael Stone does about abortion (*ITT*, Aug. 17). Like Mr. Stone, I felt that the only "consistent stand in support of basic human rights" included opposition to abortion. Since then, my views have changed, though my values remain the same.

Abortion is indeed murder, but sometimes murder is the best of a bunch of bad solutions. What would you do if you were 12 years old and pregnant? Or 52, single and pregnant? Or a married mother of six whose husband earned the minimum wage?

Those of us who endorse legal abortion do not take it lightly; we are not in favor of "irresponsible and systematic extermination of human life." The fact is that many women, finding themselves in the desperate situation that capitalism has prepared for them, will decide that they cannot bear their child. These women will have abortions, with or without federal funds or legal permission.

Stone's contention that "we as a people are under no obligation to provide a safe and comfortable refuge for people to commit infanticide with our collective support and consent," seems to me to be the height of an "arrogant, elitist, condescending, and class-bound attitude towards the poor," which crime he attributes to those of us who would give women the choice of abortion.

It is obvious that he has never known the desperation of a poor woman with a pregnancy she cannot carry to term, the terror she feels as she goes to an unfeeling butcher who will do the job cheaply and secretly, the pain and loneliness of

bleeding in a hotel room, never knowing if she may be dying.

But Stone does make one point with which I agree: "Something is terribly wrong when abortions (many of them the third, fourth, or fifth for one woman) begin to outnumber childbirths." But laws one way or another are in fact irrelevant. People will only begin to respect the value of unborn human life when society as a whole starts respecting their own human lives! When we have a society where no one is so poor that they cannot afford a child, and where ignorance, the companion of poverty, has been erased by an energetic campaign for birth control. Then the incidence of abortion will drop.

—Helen Miller
Chicago

No dogma

Editor:

I have been enjoying *ITT* since the beginning and I enjoyed the quote from Cedric Belfrage that compared *ITT* to the *National Guardian* (*ITT*, Aug. 10). It is important for the left in the U.S. to have a publication like *ITT* that shares a variety of socialist views (and some non-socialist) without a strict dogmatic line that typifies other left publications. How else can we find out about each other and our activities around the country and the globe?

—Ken Brown
The First Unitarian Society
Exeter, N.H.

ITT and pumpkin pie

Editor:

I got a copy of your paper at the recent War Resisters League annual conference, at Lacey, Wash.

I liked what I saw.

Please send me a year's worth. I enclose my check for \$15.

—James A. Leadon
Corvallis, Ore.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

DIALOG

More about Ruth Yannatta, Jim Stanbery and socialist politics

In the Aug. 10 "Dialog," Ruth Yannatta's husband/manager Derek Shearer claims that my stories on her nearly successful primary campaign in May for a California Assembly seat were incorrect. He attributed this to my "apparent dislike for electoral politics."

Aside from the fact that he did not point out a single factual error, I found his erroneous interpretation of my own political views unfortunate.

For one thing, he claims I reported that James Stanbery's campaign the same month for a Los Angeles City Council seat was "an authentic left campaign." Actually, I pointed out that Stanbery, far from running even a "populist" campaign, was trying for a low voter turnout (as a tactic to beat a red-baiting incumbent), and I also got Stanbery in a bit of hot water with his own Peace and Freedom party supporters by correctly quoting him as being against

closed-shop unions—hardly an "authentic left" position.

I did make clear that Yannatta was "soft-pedaling the more radical side of her program," in an effort to win in a liberal Democratic district. I never said, as Shearer incorrectly claimed in his critique of my stories, that she "soft-pedaled the issues."

There is a big difference here. Yannatta did take strong positions on issues like the environment and rent control. But on radical issues, like economic democracy, she herself told me she was soft-pedaling. As I quoted her (and Shearer never challenged my quotes), she said, "I even have some business people supporting me. That's partly why I don't like to get involved in a lot of philosophical discussion."

She soft-pedaled economic democracy also when she evasively defined it by saying, "I'm talking about the relationship between the market and the consumer—about the role of corporations and how they influence decisions. About the need for more public representatives on regulatory bodies."

Frankly, if political democracy were so loosely described, we might well lump Chile, the U.S., the Soviet Union and everywhere else people vote in the same civic category!

To me, economic democracy can or ought to mean nothing other than worker and consumer control over the workplace and the larger economy. Why not say that? It is, after all, only an idea

whose time has come, and it's hardly new.

In my second, post-election story, I noted correctly that Yannatta got little black voter support and, in what I thought was an interesting and candid admission, I quoted Yannatta as telling me that her campaign effort among blacks was minor. "The truth is that minority groups don't vote," she said. "It's one of those myths that needs a lot of discussion. If you're doing movement politics, you do well with minorities, but not in elections."

This was Ruth Yannatta talking and, quite frankly, while I wish she had won (no left crazy, me), I find such an argument disturbing. My concern with both Yannatta's campaign and a similar losing effort a week earlier by Burt Wilson, (who ran for another vacated Assembly seat nearby) was that in the interest of winning, both candidates left their radicalism behind.

Stanbery was different.

In that one respect, Stanbery did stand out. He did articulate some radical positions—all the ones he stood for, including the people's right to control the economy as it relates to the necessities of life. He did this in the face of the most vicious red-baiting campaign I've seen, and he did the best of all three progressive candidates, taking nearly 35 percent of the vote.

Shearer illustrates part of the problem I saw in the Yannatta campaign when he tries to illustrate how the campaign made "every effort" to win the black vote. He says, "We had a photo of Ruth with black Congressman Ron Dellums in our literature. We were endorsed by strong leaders in the black community. We had black precinct workers from a local black organization walk every black pre-

cinct in the district." I submit that those things sound like just what any establishment Democratic political hack would have and could have done. I'm sure Yannatta would work to fight racism and poverty once in office, but it's illustrative of the attitude of the campaign that Shearer did not bother to provide, as an argument, any examples of positions Yannatta stood for which black voters would identify as their own.

The view I got from people close to the campaign, however, was that it ignored blacks until the last few days, and that no effort was ever really made to register voters, black or otherwise—an effort I would consider crucial to any "authentic left" campaign.

Yannatta argued earlier that registration was not emphasized because of the shortness of the campaign. But if, as she and Shearer imply, the campaign was intended to continue as a movement, at least until the seat is again up for grabs when "Levine, who is very ambitious, moves up politically," those registration efforts would have been important later. (I suspect that the real reason registration was downplayed was simple opportunism. This was, by all accounts, a campaign to win.)

View of electoral politics.

Finally, since Shearer says I dislike "electoral politics, particularly within the Democratic party," I'd like to explain what my view really is. I believe that in this nation, under the present and most foreseeable future circumstances, electoral politics are one of the most practical and desirable ways of effecting social change. But not simply by electing people!

Continued on page 18.

Joshua Dressler

The U.S. Supreme Court: Last year was not as bad as expected



We can all breathe a sigh of relief. The 1976-77 United States Supreme Court term is over. Like waiting for the proverbial second shoe to fall, we all wait to see if another civil liberty will be obliterated by the Burger Court. Now, however, the Court goes into recess for a few months, and we can say that the second shoe has not fallen as often as in prior years.

During the previous term the high court acted with vengeance, ruling over 95 percent of the time for police in over 40 criminal cases, and tearing apart many protections of earlier decisions in the fields of civil rights, free speech and labor law.

This year, although the decisions remain conservative, and at times oppressive, the Court seems to have caused less damage. Without offering a complete analysis of the decisions, here are some preliminary observations:

● **Criminal Law.** The Supreme Court decided far fewer major cases, and its decisions were not as consistently pro-police.

More significantly, the court did not wreak total havoc on old Warren Court decisions. It weakened the efficacy of the *Miranda* decision—which requires police to inform suspects of their right to remain silent and their right to an attorney—when it declared that a suspect, questioned in a police station, who arrived semi-voluntarily, is not necessarily entitled to *Miranda* warnings.

On the other hand, in another case that many observers expected would be used by the Court to overrule *Miranda*, the Court avoided such an opportunity and overturned a conviction because the defendant had been denied counsel. The case involved a grisly murder and a clearly guilty defendant; therefore the failure of the Court to overrule *Miranda* indicates that is still cannot muster the five votes necessary to do so.

Maybe most significantly, the Supreme Court declared the death penalty to be "cruel and unusual punishment" when applied against rapists who have not killed.

This decision is important in various ways. First, it puts an end to the historic use of the death penalty as a racist punishment of black men, especially in the South. The rationale of the decision seems to require the invalidation of the death penalty for all other crimes short of murder. The Court declared that death as a punishment in rape cases was disproportionate to the crime. Its language and its logic would seem to call for the end of executions for the crimes of kidnapping, hijacking and maybe even espionage.

● **Prisoners' Rights.** Decisions here, too, were a mixed bag, although the overall effect is disturbing.

The Court ruled that prisoners are entitled to law libraries for use in the prison to prepare their cases, and that *deliberate* indifference to serious medical ills of inmates constitutes cruel and unusual punishment. On the other hand, serious medical malpractice by a physician was held to be constitutional. And in the last week of the term the Court ruled that prisons may validly prohibit prison "unions" from organizing, and may deny prisoners mailing privileges to inmate organizations.

This latter decision is a major and devastating blow to the ability of prison reformers nonviolently to end the oppressive conditions in prisons. Such organizations have been increasingly successful in gaining support of inmates in their struggles to improve conditions within the prisons. The union involved in the court decision had, for example, 2,000 members in North Carolina. Often the unions have had the effect of countering the efforts of prison officials to cause racial dissension; unity among the races has been the effect of such unions. Now their work may have to turn underground.

● **Women's Rights.** Women won three decisions, as the Court declared a Utah support payment law and two provisions of the Social Security Act discriminatory. Likewise, a Social Security provision that benefited women was upheld because of

Congress' earlier intention to make up for employment discrimination against women.

On the other hand, poor women received a devastating blow when the Court declared that states may refuse to pay for non-emergency abortions, and that hospitals may refuse to perform most abortions. Thus, poor women may now have to rely on non-profit clinics; when this fails they will have to return to private abortionists to terminate pregnancies.

● **First Amendment Rights.** On the whole, the high court did not seriously undermine First Amendment law, although many of the major decisions involved losses. It declared, for example, that a teacher must be permitted the right to speak against certain union procedures at school board meetings. This decision, of course, can be interpreted as anti-union.

In a case with civil rights counter-implications, the justices held that a township could not enact an ordinance prohibiting "For Sale" signs, even if it did so to avoid white flight from an integrated area.

Attorneys were given the limited right to advertise the cost of undisputed legal services, but the Court refused to extend this right to advertise the full gamut of legal costs. Since most legal services involve disputes, this decision will have only a limited effect on forcing down the cost of legal services.

In one civil liberties victory, a New Hampshire law that made it a crime not to display the "Live Free or Die" motto on the state license plate was declared unconstitutional.

● **Workers' Rights.** Labor law decisions are extremely complicated and defy easy generalization. One trend seems apparent. Workers rights to assert themselves against their union have generally been upheld. Thus, the Court declared void a union requirement that its members contribute to ideological causes supported by the union as a condition of employment.

So, too, a union constitutional provision that prevented 96 percent of its members from running for union office was invalidated. The Court also held that federal law does not preempt state courts from hearing law suits initiated by union members against their union for infliction of mental distress.

● **Miscellaneous.** In a very poorly analyzed opinion, the Court declared that schools may inflict serious corporal punishment on children, even when such punishment causes injury requiring hospitalization. The Court apparently felt that the "cruel and unusual punishment" provision of the Constitution only applies to criminal law. Following that theory, capital punishment of school children would also not violate the Constitution.

Such were some of the major decisions. Conservative opinions tended to receive a 7-2 or 6-3 vote, and the occasional "liberal" ruling came by a 4-5 margin. Nonetheless, compared to the prior year, even the conservative rulings were less strident. One reason for the moderation has been the presence of Justice John Stevens, Ford's appointee. Stevens voted on the progressive side in nearly one-half of the important cases, and he constituted the swing vote in some relatively liberal decisions. He seems especially willing to rule in favor of prison reform.

Nonetheless, the future remains gloomy. Justices Rehnquist and Burger constitute a rigid reactionary wing which Blackmun, White, and Powell almost always join. Only Brennan and Marshall remain steady supporters of civil liberties. Thus, even when Stevens and Stewart, the two "moderates," come over to the progressive side (which they rarely do in unison) this constitutes only four votes on the nine-person Court.

Joshua Dressler is associate professor of law at Hamline University Law School in St. Paul, Minn. His column appears regularly.

Hans Koning

New York's dissident looters: Human rights mean different things to them

When the looters were climbing out of the darkened shop windows of New York City with their TVs and summer-sale suits, they presented a view—to whomever wanted to see in the dark—of an America very different from its daily political-media cliché image. Indeed, so staggeringly different that the two pictures do not touch. In words once written about 19th century England, America is "two nations."

The bottom nation is those who are left out. They aren't all necessarily poor in the technical sense; some may make a hundred dollars a day in the numbers or in drugs. They're not even exploited. They are, more cruelly, excluded.

They are the debris of our incredibly wasteful and reckless profit society, which has found welfare more economic than job programs and more feasible than poorhouses or concentration camps.

The looters, those "animals" as their fellow citizens called them the following morning, don't seem to know how well off they are. For, unlike East European dissidents, they are in full possession of all their human rights. They can paint pictures in any style they want, and if they can find a gallery willing to put their stuff in the window, no FBI man is going to make trouble. They can write any book they like and if they own or if they have looted a typewriter, no one is going to stop

them from typing out the manuscript and sending it to every publisher in the U.S. They can emigrate to any country they fancy (if they find one to let them in) and if they have an aging mother somewhere in the world, they are welcome to go and join her.

In short, they live in the liberals' paradise and you can see how disgusting it must be for all our columnists and politicians who are doing battle for the dissidents of Russia, to find pictures in their morning papers of fellow Americans in full possession of their rights, running down Harlem's Lenox Avenue with TV sets.

Unemployed and dissidents.

But the unemployed of Harlem and the South Bronx outnumber the Soviet dissidents. The disinherited of this country outnumber all the dissidents in the world. Fifteen million people permanently out of work, that is the tally for that small part of it labeled the "western democracies": fifteen million of that happy band which is still first in this planet's pecking order, wake up each dawn to an endless and pointless desert day. And yet even they are still privileged, for the real debris of our system is south of the border, and in Africa and Asia, where well within view of the balconies of our new chain hotels

and around the corner from our banks and embassies, life is as short and brutish as it has ever been during civilization's short and violent march.

The question, then, which should first occupy our editors and politicians and President is not why can't everyone say and write what he or she wants in the Soviet Union, but: is it possible to create a society in which there is food and medical care and work for everyone, and which at the same time allows those spiritual luxuries? Yes, luxuries—for no matter how essential to the human spirit they are, they're luxuries as long as children go hungry.

It is, however, not the question that occupies them most. They seem to be struggling, rather, with the question of whether their newly discovered moral commitments to the rights of Russians and others isn't too heavy a diet for the weaker-fibered breeds on earth. Secretary of State Vance has already said, we must go slow when we "impose our values on others." Ten years ago, Vance was choosing bomb sites in Vietnam for this slow imposing of our values. But maybe our governing men have, like Charles Colson, all been reborn?

I admit to doubt. I think that most of those who want us to focus so strenuous-

ly on the dissidents of Eastern Europe are riding the cold war in a new way. Their game used to be looking for Reds here at home; now it's looking for anti-Reds over there. President Carter, earlier this year, listed as a condition for recognizing Cuba, "a return to the former relationship that existed in Cuba toward human rights." Human rights, when organized U.S. crime and organized U.S. business and Batista's thugs ran the island? Well, no, just an unfortunate choice of words. What Carter meant was that Castro should respect property. Like the neutron bomb does.

I'm not saying that there are no men and women genuinely horrified by the contempt of the Russian or Czech burueocrat for an individual at the receiving end of his power, at the sadism of a state police. It is a genuine horror because they can easily see themselves in the roles of the victims: no mental acrobatics is required of liberals to imagine themselves deprived of passports, having their phones tapped, or even being beaten up by men in trenchcoats. It is horror, though, that cannot understand running down Lenox Avenue with a looted TV set.

DIALOG

Continued from page 16.

Change will come from the people who do the voting, and not from those they elect, and it will come because of simultaneous militant efforts outside the electoral system. Progressives in office at this point are representatives, not movers. The vast reactionary mass of politicians and the corporate powers who own them will block their best efforts, as they recently blocked Dellums' attempt to free Puerto Rico by legislation. So winning elections, while great in itself, is not the crucial thing. The important thing is to use campaigns to organize people, and equally important, to elevate radical positions and alternatives to the level of popular discourse. This is not accomplished by running to the center for votes. Nor, I suspect, is it done by running as a Democrat.

We are rapidly becoming a one-party state, and so the left may as well start working on its own party. All that can be accomplished by staying in the Democratic fold is to give the Democratic party more legitimacy.

In short, I agree with Shearer that campaigns have a "dynamic and excitement that other political work lacks." I agree, too, that "campaigns also force the left to learn to communicate with a mass audience in a clear and intelligible way."

I disagree only in the overpowering desire on the part of candidates like Yannatta to win at the cost of soft-pedaling radical positions and of organizing for the future. I hope she or someone else does run when Levine moves onward and upward.

—Dave Lindorff
Los Angeles

Mark Naison struck out in his review of Senzel's *Baseball and the Cold War*

Mark Naison's review of *Baseball and the Cold War* (ITT, Aug. 10) was more coherent than the book and gave the false impression that Senzel had something of value to say.

That a publisher chose to print this one is the big news. Baseball books will,

I suppose, always sell. But this one is tailored to you and me—the readership of *ITT*, *Seven Days*, *Radical America*, and who knows, maybe even the *Guardian*. The subtitle of the book is crucial: *Being a Soliloquy on the Necessity of Baseball in the Life of a Serious Student of Marx and Hegel*. The cover is easily the best part of the book, a stylized rendering of Fidel Castro in baseball togs, a crossed bat and rifle, and baseball and hand grenade side-by-side.

Book-buying radicals of the '70s seem to be a market, even though socialist ideas are not allowed articulation in the media. Socialists buy books. But Senzel has fallen into the same trap he bemoans in his book: the use of "radical" ideas and personalities by corporate America to make money.

Baseball and the Cold War promises to be somehow a political discussion of baseball, the Cold War, the '50s and the '70s. Its criticism of American society both then and now are less than interesting and frequently just plain wrong. Reading a non-political baseball book like Roger Kahn's *The Boys of Summer* belies Senzel's facile assertion that "Americans could accept black baseball players before they could accept black people." Kahn's devastating account of the institutional and individual acts of racism suffered by Jackie Robinson demonstrates that Senzel's mysterious distinction between black people and black ball players is phony.

Senzel seems to think that he is demystifying baseball for himself and his readers while in fact he participates in and supports some of the biggest myths of all. "There is no way to train yourself to hit a baseball... Hitting is something that some people do better than others and that a few people do very well but no one knows how or why they can do it. Hitting a baseball is a mystery."

Roger Kahn goes to visit George Shuba of the Brooklyn Dodgers in the early '70s. Shuba was known as a man with a natural swing, "as natural as a smile." Shuba takes Kahn into his cellar and shows him the "secret" of the natural swing: "Wrists. I swung a 44-ounce bat 600 times a night, 4,200 times a week, 47,200 swings every winter... You call that natural?"

The fact that Senzel has no "programmatic suggestions" is not the problem with *Baseball and the Cold War*. Senzel's political commentary (or complaints) about U.S. corporate society lacks coherent analysis.

Reviewers for a socialist newspaper need to clarify their criteria for success or failure. It's not the explicitly "political" title or cover or even content that make a book or play or movie or dance progressive. It's the analysis implicit or explicit, well-put or bungled, clear or obscure that needs discussion and commentary.

—Anita Diamant
Allston, Mass.

OBITUARY

Louise R. Berman

Louise R. Berman, a major investor in *IN THESE TIMES* and a long-time organizer, activist and supporter of left causes, died in New York City on Aug. 5 of a prolonged illness.

Berman was born in Berkeley of a German-Jewish pioneer California family. Her grandfather came to the foothills of the Sierra-Nevada during the Gold Rush of the 1840s and set up a general store in the thriving town of Jenny Lind (named after a famous Swedish opera singer who once came to the American West).

Her father, Abraham Rosenberg, and his two brothers journeyed to San Francisco to make their fortunes at a time when the self-made millionaire was a relatively common phenomenon in California life. The brothers went into the dried fruit business, of which her father became the head. At his death he left a sizeable fortune.

He also started a charitable foundation, the Rosenberg Foundation, that, among other things, concerns itself with orphaned children.

Berman attended Vassar and the University of California but left college to marry Richard Branstén, who became a writer and Marxist historian. In the early 1930s she became deeply involved in several organizations dedicated to furthering democracy in the U.S., to fighting the spread of international fascism and, following World War II, to promoting world peace.

She contributed substantial portions of her wealth to these organizations, but as a dedicated and highly efficient organizer she also worked hard and effectively to promote their aims.

Berman was active in the Committee Against War and Fascism in the late '30s. During the war she was Executive Secretary of the American-Russian Institute in San Francisco. For this Institute, she organized several activities, including the hosting of a Soviet woman sniper, Major Ludmilla Pavlochenko, who killed more Germans than any other single Soviet soldier during the war.

Following the war, Berman helped organize the fight to get blacks into San Francisco's municipal transport system, from which they had always been excluded. The fight centered around a young black veteran, Audrey Cole, winner of a Silver Star for heroism in battle and father of three children, who was accepted for a job as a streetcar motorman. The city's streetcar workers went on

strike to protest the presence of a black among them, but Cole drove his streetcar amidst threats of rioting and even sabotage. Berman was instrumental in winning support for his cause, which ultimately led to acceptance of black workers in all San Francisco transport, including as taxicab drivers.

Berman moved to New York in late 1945. Her marriage to Richard Branstén had ended in divorce years earlier, and in 1947 she married a New York film editor, Lionel Berman, who died in 1968.

For several years both she and her husband worked closely with New York progressive Representative Vito Marcantonio.

At the height of the McCarthy era, Nov. 7, 1949, Berman was called up before the House Un-American Activities Committee and asked whether she had contributed money to alleged Communist causes or publications. She categorically refused to answer such questions and incurred a citation for contempt of Congress. A federal judge later dismissed the case against her.

Berman denounced the Un-American Activities Committee's investigation of her in the following terms:

"If I had spent my money on yachts and jewels, this Committee would have no fault to find with me and would not have bothered me.... What this Committee apparently objects to is that I have used my money for things I believe in—for peace, for civil rights, for education and health—objectives which do not seem to meet its approval."

Berman went back to school in the late 1950s and received a Bachelor of Arts Degree from New York University in English and American literature at age 50.

In recent years, she organized and ran the Arab/Israeli Research and Relations Project, a subsidiary of the Fund for Peace, which sought to promote verbal and written dialogue between interested parties in the Middle-East conflict, and a practical guideline for the achievement of peace. Berman believed that the Arabs would have to recognize Israel's right to exist and that conversely, the Israelis would have to recognize the aspirations of Palestinians to territory of their own and to independence as represented by the PLO.

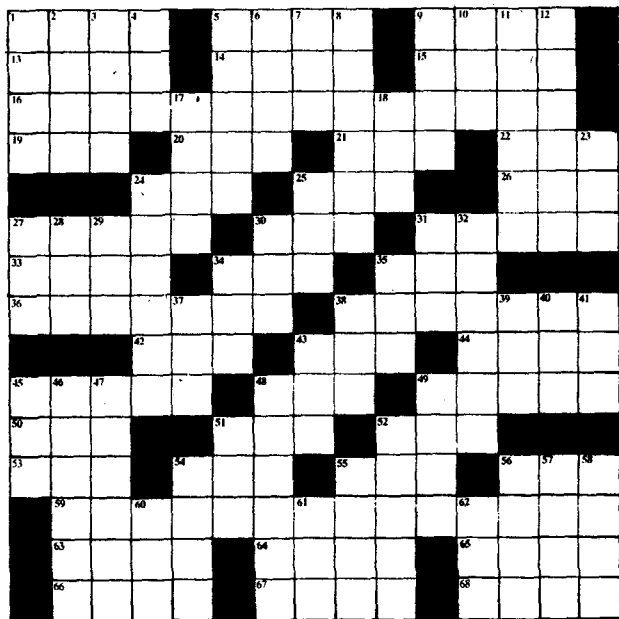
She is survived by a son, Thomas R. Branstén, of Geneva, Switzerland, and three grandchildren.

Feminist Firsts

By David Mermelstein

Across:

- 1 Nigerians
- 5 Part of H.M.S.
- 9 Owl or dance
- 13 Links cry
- 14 Type of excuse
- 15 Wings
- 16 FIRST WOMAN CABINET MEMBER
- 19 Craving
- 20 Type of cat
- 21 What young George couldn't tell
- 22 Karpov uses these: Abbr.
- 24 Gross minus expenses
- 25 Alternative to borrow or steal
- 26 _____ de France
- 27 WHAT 16 ACROSS WAS SECRETARY OF
- 30 Young man
- 31 Roman Catholic Saint
- 33 Muslim prince
- 34 Row
- 35 Wade or King
- 36 STATE OF 67 ACROSS
- 38 HATTIE _____, FIRST WOMAN ELECTED TO U.S. SENATE
- 42 Fruit drink
- 43 Twisted
- 44 "The Way We _____"
- 45 FIRST WOMAN MAYOR OF NEW YORK CITY?
- 48 Type of window
- 49 FIRST WOMAN SECRETARY OF COMMERCE
- 50 _____ corda (musical direction)
- 51 Snoop
- 52 Kong's Wray
- 53 Eyelid inflammation
- 54 Engineered Mossadegh's ouster
- 55 Be ill
- 56 Resort
- 59 FIRST WOMAN SENATOR
- 63 Part of Q.E.D.
- 64 Fencing weapon
- 65 New Haven university
- 66 Latin: to be
- 67 NELLIE _____, FIRST ELECTED WOMAN GOV.
- 68 Liz's are violet



- 2 Pierce
- 3 Mediterranean seaport
- 4 Sun Yat-_____
- 5 Weather prediction
- 6 Door clasp
- 7 Little devil
- 8 Stripped an orange
- 9 What one does to pottery or bread
- 10 The Greatest?
- 11 FIRST WOMAN REPRESENTATIVE
- 12 Snuggle
- 17 Part of a French letter
- 18 Fix
- 23 Her or his, in Paris
- 24 Conforms to standard
- 25 Something one gets admitted to
- 27 Those so admitted in 25 Down can now practice _____
- 28 FIRST DAUGHTER OF A BAPTIST PRESIDENT TO LIVE IN THE WHITE HOUSE
- 29 College course, familiarly
- 30 Opposite of lead
- 31 Kennedy abbreviation
- 32 What the best laid plans often do
- 34 Precedes way or sided
- 35 One kind of T.V.
- 37 Pentagon affiliate protested by Columbia students in 1968: Abbr.
- 38 Weep
- 39 Tiny
- 40 Stringed instrument, in Soho
- 41 English owl
- 43 "Going My _____," with Bing
- 45 Vehicle often in the news
- 46 After appetizer and before dessert
- 47 Seams
- 48 A few drinks, in time of need
- 49 Green vegetable
- 51 Turkish measure
- 52 Musical instruments
- 54 Whale
- 55 Pub drinks
- 56 Tarry
- 57 East European
- 58 Once: Scottish
- 60 _____ relief
- 61 G.I. mailing address: Abbr.
- 62 A caustic

Answers to last week's puzzle:

1. NIGERIA
2. PIERCE
3. MEDITERRANEAN
4. SUN YAT-SEN
5. WEATHER
6. DOOR
7. DEVIL
8. STRIPPED
9. POTTERY
10. THE GREATEST
11. FIRST WOMAN REPRESENTATIVE
12. SNUGGLE
13. LINKS
14. EXCUSE
15. WINGS
16. FIRST WOMAN CABINET MEMBER
17. PART
18. FIX
19. CRAVING
20. TYPE
21. WHAT YOUNG GEORGE COULDN'T TELL
22. KARPV
23. HER OR HIS
24. CONFORMS
25. SOMETHING ONE GETS ADMITTED TO
26. DE FRANCE
27. WHAT 16 ACROSS WAS SECRETARY OF
28. FIRST DAUGHTER OF A BAPTIST PRESIDENT TO LIVE IN THE WHITE HOUSE
29. COLLEGE COURSE
30. OPPOSITE OF LEAD
31. KENNEDY ABBREVIATION
32. WHAT THE BEST LAID PLANS OFTEN DO
33. MUSLIM PRINCE
34. PRECEDES
35. ONE KIND OF T.V.
36. STATE OF 67 ACROSS
37. PENTAGON AFFILIATE
38. WEEP
39. TINY
40. STRINGED INSTRUMENT
41. ENGLISH OWL
42. FRUIT DRINK
43. TWISTED
44. THE WAY WE LIVE
45. FIRST WOMAN MAYOR OF NEW YORK CITY
46. AFTER
47. SEAMS
48. A FEW DRINKS
49. GREEN VEGETABLE
50. TURKISH MEASURE
51. MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS
52. WHALE
53. EYELID INFLAMMATION
54. ENGINEERED MOSSADEGH'S OUSTER
55. BE ILL
56. RESORT
57. EAST EUROPEAN
58. ONCE
59. FIRST WOMAN SENATOR
60. RELIEF
61. G.I. MAILING ADDRESS
62. A CAUSTIC

Down:

- 1 One kind of question

LIFE IN THE U.S.

SPORTS

Beckenbauer & American soccer

By Louis Kampf

Some months ago I noticed that Franz Beckenbauer was about to arrive in the U.S.

"Who," you ask, "is Franz Beckenbauer?"

Merely the greatest libero in the whole world.

All right. I'll explain. Beckenbauer is a soccer player. Only a chosen few get to be liberos. For the libero is what the word implies: he is free. Free to leave his defensive midfield position, and charge upfield leading the attack. He must be in complete control, secure in his own capacity to recover from an offensive thrust, and return downfield to protect his goal. He must have the stamina to be on the run and take risks for the full 90 minutes of a game. He is Captain Marvel with a brain. Beckenbauer is known to his fans in Munich as *der Kaiser*.

Munich is a bourgeois paradise. Yes, some unpleasant neo-Nazis occasionally roam the streets; some people might even remember what happened at nearby Dachau; but such dreary thoughts fade as one tries to choose between a wedge of Bavarian cream pie and a square of Linzertorte at one of the city's baroque pastry shops.

So why has Beckenbauer left to join the Cosmos, New York's entry in the North American Soccer League (NASL)?

Two million and eight hundred thousand dollars, that's why. This is not quite as much as the Cosmos pay for Pele's services, but Beckenbauer is a man of modest ambitions, unlike his flamboyant teammate from Brazil.

I heard of Beckenbauer's decision to leave the Bayern Munchen team while I was trying to fight off a sunburn on a shimmering beach on the Tunisian island of Djerba (honest!). The night before I had been glued to the TV watching Bayern Munchen defeat Red Star of Belgrade in a European Cup match. No Beckenbauer.

"What happened to Beckenbauer?" I asked the postal worker from Munich

The acquisition of Beckenbauer by the New York Cosmos is symptomatic of the corporate effort to make soccer the next big time American sport.

whose fried body reclined in the beach chair next to mine. He responded with a wail, followed by an angry growl. The Americans have done it again. As if the bombing of Munich had not been bad enough, they'd now bought Beckenbauer. "And Americans don't even like soccer. Baseball! Pfui!"

Growing American interest.

But North Americans are, in fact, beginning to like soccer. I came home to the States in time to watch Beckenbauer's American debut broadcast on TV. I could have watched it in Tunisia, since it was going out to the whole world via satellite. More important, there was a capacity crowd of 40,000 on hand in Tampa Bay, Fla., as the hometown Rowdies beat the Cosmos.

Beckenbauer was tired and barely familiar with the other players. Occasionally one would see hints of his tenacious ball control, and his ability to guide the flow of the offense.

But the fans did not seem interested in Beckenbauer. Or in his teammate Pele. They were rooting for the Rowdies, who systematically demolished the Cosmos' defense. I enjoyed the show, in spite of the commercials.

I have loved watching soccer since my father treated me to my first game. I was



five and we were living in Vienna, Austria. After we moved to the U.S. when I was 12, I had to derive my pleasure from playing, rather than watching, since the level of performance was abysmally low.

Indeed, it was low enough for me to become the instant star goalie for the Maccabi Athletic Club juniors in Manhattan. The club was German-Jewish. The league we played in consisted of clubs representing ethnic neighborhoods all over New York City.

"Next time I'll kick you in the nuts, kike," grinned the Italian Fraternal Club's center-forward as I shoved him aside (legally, of course), belly-flopped onto the rolling ball, thereby saving a goal. His grin was not friendly. Fortunately, he did not carry out his threat.

What happened was worse. Our sporting opponents broke into our lockers. Gone were the 50 cents that were to pay for my carfare home from Brooklyn, a hotdog, and a Dr. Brown's celery tonic.

This was my introduction to the virtues of ethnic sporting and social clubs. Things have changed little over the years.

But the persistent nastiness did not diminish my love for soccer. There is no sport like it. You don't need the bulk of Mean Joe Greene. You don't have to be as tall as Bill Walton: five-foot-five will do fine. You don't have to be male.

Imagination in command.

Soccer is cheerfully simple. You just move the ball up the field with your feet, head, chest and try to get it into the opponents' goal. The rules are few. Best of all, nothing is hidden. Every move is out in the open to be savored or put down. Play is always in motion.

All this allows someone like Beckenbauer to use his talents to the full. And the talents are never those of sheer strength or size. They involve the capacity to control the ball, to pass accurately and with daring, to anticipate an opponent's or a teammate's moves, to play in relation to the whole team. You can't simply go through the motions drilled into you by a coach: the imagination must take command.

The trouble is that though it's fun playing soccer at any level of competence, it's dreary to watch anything but a first-rate performance. When skilled feet are not in control over the ball, teams degenerate into mobs. That was the condition of North American soccer until a few years ago. Then teams began to import the likes of Beckenbauer.

Why?

Though soccer may be the world's most beautiful competitive sport, why should anyone want to impose it on North America?

Continued on next page.

No Condescending Saviors, by Noel Ignatin.

A new pamphlet about state capitalism in the Soviet Union; the experience of revolution in the twentieth century; and the problems and prospects of socialism in our time. \$1.00

URGENT TASKS. First issue of a new journal from Sojourner Truth Organization.

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Rape, Racism, and the White Women's Movement: An Answer to Susan Brownmiller, by Alison Edwards \$.75

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Old timers teach and learn with NAM

Most of the heads of hair in the room were gray or thinning. They weren't wearing the blue jeans and t-shirts that nearly everyone around them chose.

At times they seemed to feel a bit uncomfortable. Several had once been powerful leaders in one of the largest and most influential leftist organizations this country has ever seen.

Now they were mainly rank-and-file members or sympathetic observers of a group called the New American Movement that was at least very different, whether for better or worse, than the groups they had known and led.

"Can you help us understand these young people, their amorphousness?" someone asked. "Why do they reject strong leadership and direction?"

"It's a different culture," John Rossen, a veteran of movements of the Great Depression era, tried to explain, "that rejects the authoritarian approach that we found useful to some extent in the '30s and '40s." But others talk of the need for "personal unfolding" as an alternative to party discipline provoked raised, quizzical eyebrows.

If NAM seemed a bit strange to some of the old leftists, it also was exciting in many ways. Largely a product of people who came to socialism through the new left, NAM has since picked up members who are simply new to the left. But it has also drawn in a number of veterans of the old left, mainly members of the Communist party who were in the wing that stressed greater democracy and independence from the Soviet Union.

Having left the Communist party at varying times from the early '40s to the early '70s, they were now trying to feel at home in or near NAM. They also hoped to offer people in NAM the kind of depth of personal experience and familiarity with the past that was so glaringly absent from most of the new left.

Promising, but a ways to go yet.

Yet there was no consensus among them, except perhaps that NAM was promising

but still nothing like the good old days. Perhaps that might even be for the better in many ways, some speculated.

Nearly everyone was deeply impressed by the role women play in NAM by comparison with the Communist party of the past. "The CP probably had more active women than any other political organization," Max Gordon, an editor of the *Daily Worker* from 1942 to 1957 and now a NAM member, said. "Yet in its leadership it had nothing like the participation here, especially by young women."

On the other hand, NAM had virtually no blacks and few industrial workers at its convention, in strong contrast to the CP.

Weak organization, strong minds.

Like all the older ex-Party people, Gordon found NAM's convention and organization far less disciplined than those in his past experience. There was not the same systematic review of work and assignment of tasks that came with a centralized organization, a convention of delegates rather than members and a stricter division of labor.

Herbert Benjamin, 77, a former "Wobbly" (member of the Industrial Workers of the World) who was the head of the Unemployed Councils and the Workers' Alliance in the '30s, thought that NAM lacked sufficiently strong leadership. "This organization is in the state I might have found a small city organization [of the Communist party] in 1925 or 1926," he said, "Even more immature politically, not as well organized."

Benjamin was not entirely critical. "I see a good potential," he said. "I see young people who want to create a socialist movement. I see them as the best elements we have in the country today and the only ones who can do the job. I see them as groping and trying to achieve this. ... Old-timers such as I look at the present scene and are very much disturbed. We have a lot of competing small groups and sects. Some, such as this one, have more promise than others. But NAM reflects all

the weaknesses of the socialist movement."

A strong advocate of publicly, continually educating for socialism and working to unify all socialist forces, Benjamin was less upset than many others at the predominance of educated people in NAM.

"There's too much of an inferiority complex on the part of intellectuals," he said. "They think they can't build a socialist movement until they get the proletariat in. But they can't wait. The only people who can build a socialist movement are socialists. If they're all intellectuals, too bad, but that's the way it is."

Ben Margolis, 67, a labor lawyer who defended hundreds of witnesses called before the House Un-American Activities Committee and Communists charged with violating the Smith Act, thought NAM's problems were now mainly organizational and financial rather than ideological.

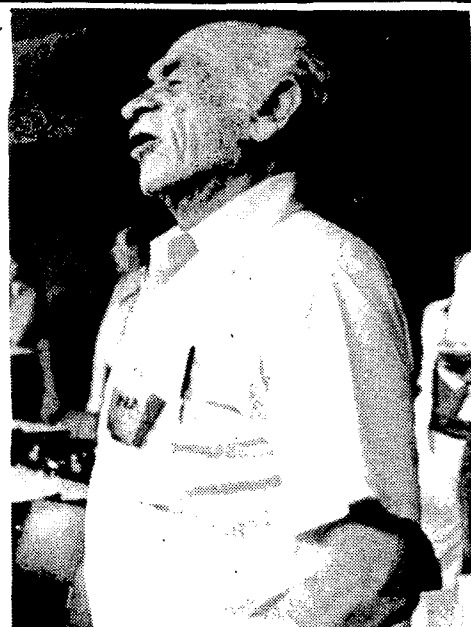
"The left used to make pitches and get every penny they could out of people's pockets for the cause," he said, "but with NAM it is either not done or done in such a milk-toast way as to be ineffective."

Now "cautiously optimistic" about NAM's future, Margolis said that "the biggest single thing" about NAM that distinguishes it from the old left "is the lack of dogmatism. People think for themselves. I don't mean to suggest that people didn't think then but they thought about implementation, not creation of policy. That's not true here."

"One advantage the old left had was discipline. The problem was that came out of leadership running things. Discipline out of a sense of responsibility is the aim."

Shared learning.

Much as less experienced NAM members could gain from learning about earlier decades, the old recruits and observers were learning as well. There was, for one thing, a turning of tables. Stella Nowicki, one of the women featured in *Union Maids*, a film about women union organizers in the early CIO by Dayton NAM members Julia Reichert and Jim Klein, was feeling



Ben Dobbs, newly elected to NAM's leadership, singing the Internationale at the closing session.

ecstatic not only from the convention and the "activist, creative leadership of the young women," but also from her own new celebrity.

Once a packinghouse organizer and a low-level Communist party functionary, Nowicki had known of one of the former leaders of the CP who was at the convention only at a great distance. She was shocked when he, once her superior, sought her out for the autograph of the now-famous rank-and-filer, Stella Nowicki.

Another elder statesperson surprisingly called a speech by singer Holly Near "the highlight of the convention." Her poetically forceful speech was hardly a statement on the "woman question" familiar to the old left or even a very common view within NAM. Yet this man thought her call for a "woman-identified" politics, centered on lesbian separatism, was forcing him to think about things he had rarely considered.

Later, after a strongly feminist concert Saturday night, the first two people up on the stage to buy copies of singer Kristin Lems' records were not young women but two men in their 60s, former leaders of the Communist party.

—David Moberg

Soccer

Continued from page 19.

cans? After all, sports with a mass following generally develop out of some sort of intimacy with a community or a social class. In England soccer teams emerged in the 19th century from working class neighborhoods in cities like London, Manchester, Liverpool. The great Arsenal teams of the 1930s were manned almost entirely by players from a single London neighborhood. Things have changed, of course. But Liverpool fans still sing "You'll Never Walk Alone" when their team seems in trouble.

The search for money.

But the NASL imports Englishmen, Germans, Italians, Brazilians in the hope that soccer will catch on in spite of not being grounded in local traditions. The reason is obvious: money.

The Cosmos are owned by Warner Communications, which also controls the Rolling Stones. "We feel that soccer is the fastest growing sport," says Warner vice president Jay Emmett.

An expanding conglomerate like Warner must look for new investments. Coca Cola, according to *Business Week*, is investing \$5 million in soccer to build good will.

They seem to be hitting the jackpot. The other day the Cosmos got 60,000 people to venture to their stadium in the cancer-inducing meadowlands of New Jersey. Thousands of men and women are beginning to play soccer at all levels.

I'm glad that I'll be able to watch the likes of Beckenbauer in the future. But what, I wonder, is the future of sport, when soccer, or any other game, can be made part of our collective life from the top down.

Louis Kampf lives in Boston and teaches at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

NAM

NAM is weak on organization, yet it has had a promising, innovative beginning.

Continued from page 5.

One side effect of greater clarity in NAM's political viewpoint may be a lessened fear of working with other groups. A talk on the relationship of NAM with the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee by Saul Wellman, a veteran organizer who started with the Young Communist League in 1930, was one striking symbol of the urge within NAM to unify the broadest possible range of socialists.

Despite his antipathy, at times extremely harsh, toward the old Socialist party and "social democrats," Wellman recalled that he had experienced a curious relationship with them. From a free speech struggle in 1930 in Jersey City, N.J., through a rank-and-file movement in the Teamsters in 1937, to the Spanish Civil War and on through the Cold War persecutions of Communists under the Smith Act in the 1950s, Wellman recalled that he would continually find Socialist party leader Norman Thomas—or another Socialist—on the same platform, in the same demonstration, or on the same front with him and other Communists.

"I have a dilemma," he said. "Why is it that on so many questions I could be on the same platform with Norman Thomas of the Socialist party and so hate the Socialist party?"

After leaving the Communist party in 1957, Wellman said, he began to reconsider his views. He "jettisoned Stalin" and

came to the conclusion that the democratic road to socialism was the only possible and desirable path for America. Over recent years he said that he had seen author and socialist propagandist Michael Harrington, parts of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) and others who might claim to follow in Thomas' tradition emerge from "the swamp of anti-communism" and repudiate many of their past mistakes, such as support for the war in Vietnam.

Perhaps, he reflected, despite the vast differences he still feels with DSOC, such as its total immersion in the Democratic party and concentration on top union leaders as agents of change, they can "find a way to heal the historic breach [between socialists and communists] that began in 1919."

How to have a socialist impact.

As NAM begins to move into large popular organizations and works with groups that have a very diluted, if any, vision of socialism, its members worry about making an impact as socialists. "We have not found a way to project a socialist vision and make our ideas clear to people," outgoing national secretary Roberta Lynch said flatly.

Socialism is most vigorously projected in NAM schools, such as those run by the Oakland, Calif., or Austin, Texas, chapters; local newspapers, such as the *East Bay Voice* or the *Somerville (Mass.) Community News*; or in speeches and forums, such as those in Los Angeles that often draw 500 or more people.

NAM theoretical discussions have also improved, drawing on the vast "unofficial and dissident Marxist writings of the past decades as well as new "Eurocommunist" notions.

To take a few examples from the convention:

• Richard Healey presented a view of class that revised the old NAM perspective that everyone, except for corporate rulers, was part of a working class differentiated only by income, race and sex. Class groupings were differentiated, Healey argued, according to their control over investment and capital, over labor (theirs or others') or some physical equipment or plant. Some groups have control over none of these, others over some, and a few over all—each potentially leading to different interests.

• Barbara Ehrenreich dissected the way in which the "liberated" woman of the mass media is torn from a home, however stifling, and thrown into a market of intensely competitive and isolated egos straining for elusive, transitory, isolated satisfactions.

• Stanley Aronowitz delivered a broadside against the socialist realist and propagandist visions of art in favor of art forms that carry on their revolution in form as much as content.

Although NAM will be working in the coming year to develop a cohesive national program in several areas, according to Holly Graff, a NIC member, it is still far from having a national impact on issues. There is strong sentiment from most chapters, however, to transcend the organization's origins as a federation of local groups and tackle national issues in a coordinated fashion.

NAM needs more of nearly everything a strong political organization needs, yet it has had a promising, innovative beginning. If after five years of work the results are not as impressive as members had hoped, it is certainly not because the organization is bankrupt.

"What does it take to be a revolutionary?" a young man asks a veteran Spanish Civil War fighter played by Yves Montand in the film, *La Guerre Est Finie*, Dorothy Healey recalled. His answer—and hers for NAM—was, "Patience and irony. Patience and irony."

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

ART

Native American art rivals Tutankhamen's



Seneca mask in wood, copper and horsehair.

The art of native Americans has fascinated Europeans from the time of their earliest encounters. The artifacts were valued as booty, as proof of the Indians' heathen savagery, as "natural history" curios, or as evidence of the Rousseauian innocence of humanity.

Along with the recent rapid growth in the popularity of North American Indian art (especially blankets and jewelry from the Southwest), there has been an increased appreciation of its esthetic value as measured against other art traditions.

Like all art, but most obviously art from simpler societies, the creations of North American Indians embody not only formal notions of beauty or compositional structure but also the meanings and messages of social life.

Take, for example, a Comanche warshield—its play of dazzling color strips in one quadrant of a circle against a blank field with three stars, surrounded by dangling feathers and strips of cloth and hair, accented by a delicate asymmetry. Framed by the white plaster background official art, it commands our attention with the force of an early Jasper Johns combine painting. But it was not designed for a museum wall. It was carried into battle, displayed in times of peace, and cherished by its owner as a source of power.

Currently, through the end of October, the Art Institute of Chicago offers one of the finest exhibits of Indian art ever mounted. After picking through hundreds of collections, curator Evan Maurer has assembled 566 works that span all the major regions of

Individual artistry, style and genius flourished within an art normally seen as anonymous.



Comanche shield.

Indian art north of the Rio Grande and the years from 2,500 B.C. to 1976, and represent the vast range of Indian artistry, from everyday utensils to ritual objects, from stone carving to beadwork, from paintings on leather or feathered headdresses to tightly woven baskets and blankets.

Moreover, Maurer has selected objects that, with very few exceptions, qualify not only as anthropological indicators of ways of life now largely destroyed, but also as masterworks of the diverse Indian esthetics.

The exhibit demonstrates that individual artistry, style and gen-

ius flourished and were important within an art normally seen as anonymous, tradition-bound and repetitive. Even in a society where "art" was not a separate province, worked only by the specialized few, personal style elevated conventional decoration to imaginative, distinctive achievement.

Art was the occupation of nearly everyone. As a general but not universal rule, men were more likely to create figurative art, including ritual statues, amulets and masks, such as the Kachina dolls of the Pueblos or the gorgeously twisted False Face masks of the Iroquois. Women tended to employ more abstract geometric patterns on items of daily use. Nearly any work could become an object of beauty. Although often the most elaborate works were associated with people and families of prestige or high standing, the native peoples of North America were largely egalitarian, and their art reflects that condition.

Art was admired but was not merely to behold or to decorate. Often it was a source of power and a way of preserving the gifts of vision, of mobilizing the forces of nature, or of passing on the values and lessons of the culture. The decorations on the Ghost Dance shirts, worn during the messianic movement that swept western United States in the 1890s, were supposed to protect the wearer and ultimately to aid the miraculous transformation of a world destroyed by the whites into a renewed Indian Eden.

Wandering through the collection of tools of work and war, of childhood artifacts, of clothing, storage containers and household implements, of shamanistic symbols and ritual figures of power, and of monuments to the pasts of family, tribe or individual, one absorbs much of the history of the American Indian, especially their confrontation with European settlers.

At first it shows in the introduction of new materials, such as glass bead obtained in trade. Then in objects, like a card tray, made for sale to whites. It emerges most painfully in the last battles of the late 19th century in defense of Indian land and culture.

There is one particularly poignant exhibit of four drawings, probably by Red Hawk, a Lakota Sioux. Sketched in a notebook bought from whites, they show warriors and women of the tribe dressed in their favorite finery, much of it acquired through trade with whites or other Indians. There is the suggestion of courtship. Points of the compass are marked to place these happy people at the center of their world.

These pictures were collected by a Captain R. Miller—from the dead body of a warrior, one of over 300 men, women and children slain by the U.S. cavalry on December 29, 1891, at Wounded Knee.

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Julian Bond

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Dan Marshall analyses labor's campaign for full employment; Hilda Bernstein on the life of Nomzamo Winnie Mandela, a South African black leader once again under arrest; Andrew Young in Haiti; a report on the miners' strike in West Virginia and the continuing rifts in the UMW; Bert Lance seen from Atlanta.

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Records



Willie Tyson: "If they want white floors in heaven / Jesus gonna have to keep them clean."

DEBUTANTE By Willie Tyson Urana Records

In her second album, *Debutante*, Willie Tyson has sharpened her special blend of humor and irony. Whether she's singing about women being sold like cattle or comparing a broken heart to a car ("Even the junkman won't take me for parts,") her wit is cutting and at the same time gentle. Her timing, her range of expression and her Southern accent bring out the biting message of her lyrics.

In the title song, a Southern gentleman muses on his good luck having Red Satin, his prize-winning cow at a local cattle auction while his "fine Southern daughter-girl" is coming out at the local debutante ball. But Red Satin turns up at the ball while his daughter whirls into the auction to tell the cigar-smoking crowd that women will no longer be sold.

One of the best songs is "Levee Blues," Tyson's tribute to the women who cook and clean "so some asshole can sit on a levee in a clean white shirt and sing the blues."

The narrator reflects upon woman's work, life and death. Her pains have been unsung; they are too ordinary even for the blues:

*Ain't never sat on no levee,
But I sure can cry.
Yet she sees it all and remains wryly defiant:
And if they want white floors in heaven,
You know Jesus gonna have to keep them clean.*

Tyson says she mostly "writes the tunes to hang the words on." But on the blues cuts and "Witching Hour" the women musicians come into their own, and the music soars, equalling Tyson's powerful lyrics.

Her first record, *Full Count*, on her own Lima Bean label, was publicized mostly by word of mouth among feminists. Wise Women Enterprises is able to do

more promotion, but the record won't be found at every neighborhood record store. To order write *Urana Records, c/o Wise Women Enterprises, P.O. Box 297, West Station, New York, NY 10014.*

HAZEL DICKENS AND ALICE GERRARD Rouder Records

A lot of country music is about nostalgia for things lost—a relationship to the land, the warmth of the extended family, a friendly rural community and ever-elusive true love. Hazel Dickens and Alice Gerrard, two country musicians who've been singing together for years, know all about the sadness of what's gone.

But they look back on the mythic past portrayed in country music and see how the roles offered women—loyal wife, honky-tonk bar girl, saintly mother—constrict like a belt a size too small. So their music also looks forward with hope to a day of better ways between country men and newly strong country women.

Hazel Dickens and Alice Gerrard, their second album, includes material adapted from other country musicians as well as original songs. All the traditional themes are there. "When I loved you," with mournful Cajun-style fiddling in the background, tells of unrequited love. "West Virginia My Home" is a plaintive ballad about Appalachians forced off the land into midwest cities, and by extension, of anyone's homesickness, whether they miss the smell of honeysuckle or the rattle of an El train.

But other songs have new twists. "Ramblin' Woman" and "Banjo Picking Girl" celebrate women on the road to adventure while their home-loving men stay behind.

"Mama's Gonna Stay" is about mother love—but also about the frustration and isolation of a woman raising small children alone. She gets up at 5

AM just for some time to herself:

*Before the world comes crashing,
And down the stairs comes true,
and smiles and tears and ratty hair
And "I can't find my shoes."
I don't know, Lord,
I don't know if I can make it through.*

Dickens' tenor and Gerrard's soprano swoop in and out of the harmonic dissonance of country blues. The backup musicians are superb, especially the rousing old-time banjos of "Banjo Picking Girl" and traditional dulcimer of "Beaufort County Jail." Liner notes let the listener in on where the songs came from and how they came to be arranged as they are. All in all, the album shows the seed of feminism flowering in the best of traditional country music.

Available from: Rouder Records, 186 Willow Ave., Somerville, MA 02144.

Kristen Lems and accompanist Tim Vear.



BALLAD OF THE ERA/FARMER WOMEN WALK MORE DETERMINED/MAMMARY GLANDS

By Kristin Lems
Carolstadt Productions

Kristen Lems is a singer, songwriter and organizer. She's one of the movers behind the annual Women's Music Festival in Champaign-Urbana, Ill., and an editor of the soon to be revived *Paid My Dues: a journal of women and music*.

In her concerts with Tim Vear, she sings about the viewpoint of the mother of a student killed at Jackson State, about how the '50s weren't really so great for teenagers, about women struggling to create new ways to live.

On her way to making an album, she's released two singles on her own label. One has "Ballad of the ERA," an easy sing-along that's become the anthem of the many demonstrations and rallies still going on in the unrattified state of Illinois. "Farmer" sounds like a simple, beautiful ballad, but it is also a powerful refutation of ERA foes who say all the necessary laws are already on the books. In many states, if the man of a husband/wife farm team dies, the wife must pay a large inheritance tax or the farm reverts to the state. "Farmer" catches a woman's spirit as she refuses to leave, insisting she's been a farmer, not just a farmer's wife, her whole life.

The other disc features "Mammary Glands," Lems' lighthearted but barbed view of American males' obsession with breasts and the damage thereby done to women.

In concert and on records, Lems' enthusiasm is what counts. Her songs take complex social issues and make them easy to sing about. Most important, she evokes within the issues unique and individual human pain, strivings and longings. She ties our most personal hopes and fears to the causes for which we fight.

—Judy MacLean

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MUSIC

Folk music as varied as life



Pete Seeger

Like the cultures and movements from which it springs, folk or people's music makes it own paths and can be found in many settings. This survey can only scratch the surface of a range of music as varied as life itself.

You can watch the street music theater of the Teatro Campesino organizing for the United Farm Workers in the fields of California, or listen to Holly Near in a large commercial hall singing songs the women's movement have called their own, or hear Bev Grant and the Human Condition rock out whose got "de fault" for default, at a small church fundraiser in New York City.

There are bluegrass festivals where the music goes 24 hours a day, on and off stage; intimate monthly concerts given by folksong societies all across the country, where for little cost you can get close to all kinds of music makers; clubs and coffee houses which cost more money and where the music may not be the most important event.

Weddings, birthdays, competitions and partying at home can be places and reasons for making "good times music." Often (as in the French Canadian communities of the Northeast) rock alternates with older dance styles for Saturday night fun.

What runs throughout is folk music's linkage with a sub-culture that runs counter to the American mainstream. It is participatory; you are usually expected to sing along, dance and eventually play at least one instrument. The best of it has the vitality that comes from generations of growing. It's not fancy, but it is fun.

For me, folk music has been a help in making it through difficult times and in enjoying good times more. Each person has made or needs to make their own connec-

tion. The worst mistake you could make is to listen only to those musicians you have heard or read about.

It helps to figure out where you normally feel good. Do you relish "people-watching" at demonstrations and love big crowds? Then, a concert in a large auditorium or a folk or bluegrass festival with an audience of 10,000 is really good. Do you like to mix drinks with your music? Then a tavern with Irish fiddles or a folk club with a fancy picking singer-songwriter would be preferable. A living room or small hall affords intimacy with a performer. If this is a main consideration, look to the folksong societies. Do you work so hard you hate to leave the house for music? Maybe buying records makes more sense than buying tickets.

Although people end up doing most or all of the above, there is just so much time and less money. There is a tremendous choice because folk music grows and changes and exists whether the big money is interested or not.

No single person can be knowledgeable and helpful about all the wonderful and awful stuff that is happening. There are more than 50 small recording companies that provide access to the most and the least interesting of today's performers, to political songs and a wide variety of traditional music. Every ethnic community has at least ten companies that record its music, popular and traditional.

In Folkways' superlative catalog of more than 1,700 records, Pete Seeger's best work is listed side by side with the tasteless recordings of family singers like the Bergerfolk. Broadside and Paradox offer a cross-section of topical song writers and the best from the radical movements around the world. Arhoolie, Delmark, Rounder and 20 others have cata-

Pete Seeger will headline an all-star folk concert for the benefit of the Old Town School of Folk Music, in Chicago, Sept. 3.

logs of reissues and new recordings.

Below is a list of minimal things to do to find out what is where:

1) **North American Folklore and Fiddlers Associations**, seven-page listing for nearest folk music activity of a not-for-profit nature. Free.

2. **North American Folklore and Folk Music Serial Publications**, eight-page listing for nearest publication which often has a calendar for commercial and non-commercial folk music concerts, clubs, and radio programs. Free.

Both of the above can be ordered from Joe Hickerson, Head, Archive of Folk Song, Library of Congress Music Division, Washington, DC 20540.

3. **Calendar of Festivals**, April, 1977 to December, 1977, 1,250 events listed by State in detail. Excellent guide to folk festivals, bluegrass gatherings, ethnic and Native American celebrations. Well worth the \$3.25 price from the National Council for the Traditional Arts, 1346 Conn. Ave., Washington, D.C. 20036.

4. **Sing Out!**, best and widest coverage of political music, traditional, ethnic and club music. Very helpful is Alan Senauke's column "What's Happening" and "Publication Noted" which lists an average of ten books and 60 records in each issue. Bi-monthly. \$7.00 for one year and \$12 for two years from Sing Out!, 270 Lafayette St., New York, N.Y. 10012.

—Josh Dunson

Josh Dunson writes on folk music for *In These Times*.

FILM

RoseGarden should have stood in book

I NEVER PROMISED YOU A ROSEGARDEN

Screenplay by Gavin Lambert

And Lewis John Carlino

Directed by Anthony Page

Produced by Michael Hausman

Rated R

I Never Promised You a Rose Garden is yet another film about another schizophrenic patient in another psychiatric institution. It is a shame that after waiting more than a decade for Hannah Green's penetrating novel to find its way to the screen, we are offered an unartistic, oversimplified movie that fails to communicate the original excitement and understanding of the book.

There were two things that seemed new, exciting and important in the novel. One was that the fantasy world into which Deborah retreated was as concrete as tables and chairs, as populated as any community you and I might know, totally real to her, right down to having its own language. The other thing was that the therapist accepted the world of Yr as real and useful. She kept reassuring Deborah

that she would not try to take it away from her. What the therapist did was help Deborah to make a choice between her own very punishing private place, and the world in which most of us move and live—which can also be very frightening.

It doesn't much matter whether a motion picture is true to a book as long as it works on its own terms and is successful as a film. But when the book is so satisfying and the film is unsuccessful, one begins to make comparisons, to carp and to criticize.

The time in both the book and the film is 1956. The 20 years since then have seen so much change in attitudes toward psychological illness, in broadened knowledge, in the rapid dissemination of new information, that it is impossible to jump from book to screen without taking into account that the frame of reference has changed. For example, in 1956 tranquilizers were not routine in mental hospitals, so restraining Deborah in wet sheets was not as thoughtlessly brutal as it seems today. To make the film effective and exciting the writer and director would

have had to work in the new framework. Not so—they were too faithful, in their own fashion.

One of the interesting aspects of the novel is the way Deborah slips in and out of her fantasy world. The "real world" is often grayer and vaguer than the land of Yr. Dramatizing this in film is an almost impossible task. Fantasy is the most difficult of all concepts to portray in such a realistic medium. A writer can say that Anterabbae (fantasy figure) had hair of flame, and the reader is content with the mind's image. But the film maker must supply the rest of the body: legs, arms, hands, face, gestures, parts that are of no consequence at that moment and sharp details that transform fantasy to reality and therefore no longer serve the purpose of fantasy.

Peter Brook managed it once on film in *Marat/Sade* when the inmates of the asylum grew very agitated and started to dance. The figures are transformed into wraiths that turn and twist in the light of the windows, no longer human shapes. You know that each has taken off into his own fantasy

sphere, propelled by the general excitement. In *I Never Promised You a Rose Garden* the fantasies are specific and vulgar. The figures which mock and taunt Deborah ride horses, have streaming hair and flying cloaks and set the audience laughing when they appear. They are a costumer's delight and an artist's despair.

There is no security in madness for the screen Deborah. In the book Yr is a refuge from a world that has been too harsh and chaotic for the girl to bear. It also has stages, levels of isolation into which Deborah can withdraw. Without this the therapy is less understandable.

My quarrel is with the writers of the screenplay, producer Michael Hausman, and director Anthony Page—not with the actors. Despite a script that seems to miss the understandings of the book, the actors do their very best, and it is sometimes very good.

Kathleen Quinlan (of *American Graffiti*) plays Deborah Blake, the 16-year-old schizophrenic. She is the best thing in the film. Bibi Anderson (always

outstanding in Ingmar Bergman's films) has a drab part as the doctor who listens and looks sympathetic. She is totally miscast. The doctor of the book was a plump little Viennese, a warm, housekeeper-like woman.

With the exception of Bergman's *Through a Glass Darkly*, most fiction films about mental illness and its treatment overdramatize and/or foreshorten the therapy so that "cure" seems a matter of faith healing instead of the long, painstaking process it is. It seems to be the spectacular, bizarre behavior that attracts the film maker—the stomach-turning sight of slit wrists or cigarettes pushed into unfeeling arms.

There is no virtue in making a film about mental illness, fact or fiction, unless one promotes understanding, a sympathy and compassion. Although the makers of *I Never Promised You a Rose Garden* were undoubtedly earnest, they were not artists enough to lift the film above the pedestrian.

Mavis Lyons

Mavis Lyons is a film editor in New York and the regular film critic of *In These Times*.

Farewell to The King



At the center of the uproar stood Elvis... sneering, swivelling and screaming. One question of the decade was whether he had been sent by the devil to corrupt our youth.

American popular culture was more or less a continuum until that day in the early 1950s when a record company secretary overheard a kid singing "Happy Birthday" to his mother in a record-it-yourself booth in Memphis.

That's how Elvis Presley was discovered—or so the legend has it.

The alternate story—that he recorded a couple of Ink Spots songs and presented them to Sam Phillips, head of Sun Records—is perhaps more believable, and as such, inconsistent with everything else about Elvis.

Even as an unpopular goof in high school, Presley distinguished himself with pink suits, a ducktail and sideburns—which he claimed he grew because he wanted to look like a truck driver. Driving a truck nearly became his life's work. It was paying the bills when Sun records heard something in those \$2 demos that made them give him a chance.

Sam Phillips had been quoted as saying, "If I could find a white man who had the Negro sound and the Negro feel, I could make a billion dollars." Sun had already recorded black bluesmen Howlin' Wolf and B.B. King, among others, and white kids were beginning to pick up on hip black culture. But black music was segregated on the southern airwaves to "Negro" stations, while the others continued to play pure white Country.

Elvis' first recording, of Arthur "Big Boy" Crudup's "That's Allright Mama" quickly placed on the Memphis R&B charts; *Cashbox* put it in with blues, and *Billboard* couldn't pin it to any one

category. It was the first record to fuse country and blues into "rockabilly," as well as to break the black/white sound barrier.

Rumors flew that Elvis was really black and was "passing." Presley joked that he wasn't sure himself.

In 1955 Elvis left Sun and signed with Colonel Tom Parker, a private entrepreneur of the sideshow variety who bordered on the unscrupulous, but who possessed unfailing foresight as far as the "King's" career was concerned. "When I met him, he had a million dollars worth of talent," Parker once said. "Now he's got a million dollars."

On Jan. 10, 1956, Presley released "Heartbreak Hotel." Rock and Roll was born.

An alien concept.

And that's where the culture continuum ended. Sure, before Elvis there were kids screaming at Frank Sinatra, but who was he? Just another clean-cut kid who sang the same old songs—bobbysoxers dug him but so could their parents, and that was the end of that. But violently opposite reactions to Presley, based primarily on age differences, laid the foundation for what would henceforward be called "teen" or "youth culture" or "punk"—whose very concept was antithetical to High Culture or even to traditional folk or popular culture.

It was an explosive phenomenon that forced the nation to invent a new vocabulary just to describe it.

And at the center of the uproar stood Elvis: sneering, swivelling, and screaming

"You ain't nothin' but a hound dog." That's not music! It's obscene! One of the big questions of the decade was whether or not he had been sent by the devil to corrupt the nation's youth.

Offstage Elvis remained the epitome of the All American Good Old Boy. He always addressed his elders with a polite "sir" or "ma'am"; he apologized for the way he gyrated to the music as something he tried to stop, but "couldn't help"; and he dutifully served his country as the world's most famous draftee. He also released albums of patriotic and religious fare in between his B-movie soundtracks.

He didn't write his own songs, which were carefully chosen by the management. But whether ballads, rockers or hymns, his pressings never failed to sell phenomenally, leaving him second only to Bing Crosby in accumulation of Gold Records.

Talent and self-effacement.

Pure hype, some say. True, Tom Parker was notorious for squeezing a buck. When Nixon requested a White House performance by the King, the Colonel sent back an acceptance and an estimate of the fee (the show was called off). But Parker was pushing Presley before hype had become common practice.

Elvis had talent—he could sing. And there was no question about it, he was an original—something that few of the imitators scrambling in his wake for a piece of the action could claim.

Presley derided his own gifts for performing and interpretation—his famous sneering smile was also directed inwards. He welcomed success in a big way, but never once hinted that he felt it was deserved. On early live recordings you can hear him parody the lyrics of his more popular tunes ("Are you lonesome to-night? does your hair look a fright?") laughing at himself and his costumes with the other band members, never taking the show or himself seriously. Asked by a reporter if his popularity and success were due mostly to talent or luck, Elvis lost no time in replying, "luck."

Poor kid's dream.

Elvis Presley's lifestyle was a poor kid's dream come true. He specialized in flashy clothes (the priceless solid-gold suit from the cover of *50,000,000 Elvis Fans Can't Be Wrong*) big cars (an endless succession of Cadillacs in shades of pink, gold, etc.—which he sometimes gave away to total strangers), and other creature comforts.

My own favorite anecdote involves Elvis' habit of kicking in his big color TV set whenever he became displeased with the programming, then simply having another rolled in to take its place—a luxury everyone must have wished to indulge in at one time or another.

He remained dedicated to his parents; devoted to his steady girl, who became his wife and later his ex-wife. He neither drank nor smoked—pretty conservative personal habits for a symbol of youthful rebellion.

But Presley's personal life was kept personal. His impact as a cultural phenomenon was as the public singer who took the most placid generation of Americans in the century and got them All Shook Up.

Not only does Rock and Roll owe its inspiration to him, but so does the way we look and think. He changed all our lives, whether you had anything to do with music or not, whether you liked it or not.

Although in later years Elvis was more important as a legend than as a contemporary influence, he alone remained the King. And now the King is dead.

Long live Rock & Roll.

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